The Outlook

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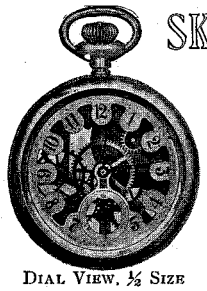

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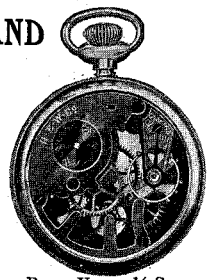

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1905

Congress: The Tariff

The outcome of the conferences between the President and members of both Houses of Congress is that in all probability a special session of Congress will be called in the autumn, and that the question of tariff revision will then be taken up with the expectation of disposing of it before the first regular session of the Fifty-ninth Congress begins in December. It is said by the Republican leaders that, as this is to be a revision of the present law by the friends of protection, and that a reversal of past policy is not proposed, but only a modification of some schedules to meet new conditions, the work will not involve long-continued debates and committee sessions. It is also asserted that Senator Aldrich has received the assent of Democratic leaders to an agreement that the opposition will not indulge in obstruction or time-consuming tactics. There are many important schedules which no protectionist in Congress thinks should be touched, and those which the moderate protectionists think should be modified may be selected and discussed with very much less friction and political turmoil than would attend the framing of a new tariff measure. A study of the position of Congress as to revision, taken by section, shows that Massachusetts, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and the two Dakotas almost unitedly favor revision; that, with few exceptions, the representatives of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio are opposed to any change; while those of Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa are divided nearly evenly.

❀

Other Congressional Matters

In the House of Representatives last week the Swayne impeachment case was brought up on the reports of the committee appointed to frame the charges; these reports indicate wide divergency in the opinions of the members of this committee as to the validity and importance of the several charges, and the press of the country is beginning to show impatience at the prospect that Congress must spend its valuable time over such apparently minor points as to whether a Federal Judge is or is not justified in charging $10 a day (the maximum allowed by law), regardless of the exact sum spent—a practice followed, it is said, by other judges as well as by Judge Swayne; this is, we believe, the only one of the charges on which the committee is unanimously agreed.—— The House passed 459 pension bills in 103 minutes one day last week.—— The Senate's Committee on Privileges and Elections has been listening during the week to evidence in favor of Mr. Smoot; it consisted chiefly of the statements of Utah non-Mormon business men who said that the Mormon Church does not interfere in politics and that polygamy is dying out. Railroad rate regulation and the Statehood question were discussed, but in a desultory way and without important positive action as to the first, and with only the adoption of minor amendments in the latter case.

❀

Federal Control of Corporations

The need of some such plan as that proposed by Mr. James Garfield for the uniform regulation of corporations becomes daily more apparent. A Washington correspondent gives us some significant facts which show that the National Capital has become a center for the organization of corporations with enormous capitalization and very little cash. Many of these companies are formed apparently simply for the purpose of exploiting unsophisticated investors, and in many cases justly deserve to be called swindling enterprises. Some three years

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ago Congress adopted a code for the District of Columbia concerning the organization of corporations for local purposes, the principal provision of which was that such corporations should pay a nominal fee for recording a certificate of incorporation by the Recorder of Deeds. Our correspondent states that a small group of men at once took advantage of this provision to form companies for all sorts of purposes to operate all over the country. The incorporators are not required to pay a tax on their stock, but simply a fee to the Recorder. During the year ending December 31 last there were 1,491 such certificates filed in Washington, authorizing a total capital stock of all the companies thus created of $2,236,572,750. These numerous companies, with their inflated capitalization, each paid an average fee of less than a dollar for their creation. Many of these companies are based on mining schemes, and it is not uncommon for the same incorporators to appear upon the papers of different companies day after day. It is fair to presume, as our correspondent asserts, that thousands of people all over the country have been induced to buy the worthless stock of some of these concerns, having been attracted by the promises of big dividends and by the fact that the corporation was created in Washington, thus supposedly immediately under the eye of the Federal Government. No better illustration could be found of Mr. Garfield's assertion that the present method of creating corporations under different and often antagonistic State laws is a vicious one.

❀

Mr. Knox on Reduction o Representation

The article by Mr. K of Alabama, printed on another page, respecting the proposal to reduce the representation of Southern States, answers two questions which have been sometimes effectively put by the advocates of this measure. One question is, How can Congress do otherwise than make such reduction, since the language of the Fourteenth Amendment is mandatory: "When the right to vote is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State . . . except for . . . crime, the basis of representation therein *shall* be reduced." It is said that the right to vote is certainly denied to the illiterate and the thriftless in certain Southern States, whether on account of their color or not. To this Mr. Knox answers, in effect, that attaching to the ballot a condition precedent, which it is possible for the citizen to comply with, is not the same thing as denying the ballot to the citizen. To say that he cannot vote until he learns to read is not the same as saying that he cannot vote. It must be said of this contention that it clearly is not a case of mere special pleading, since in support of it is cited so excellent a Constitutional authority as Judge Cooley. Mr. Knox's citation is from Judge Cooley's "Principles of Constitutional Law," page 292, edition of 1898. Judge Cooley was a Northerner, and the principle was enunciated by him six years ago—before, therefore, the present question had become a serious question in practical politics. The other question asked is, "What remedy is there for the injustice inflicted, both on the colored citizen and on other States, by allowing a State to refuse the suffrage to intelligent and thrifty colored men, as admittedly is sometimes done, except to refuse the State permission to count such excluded citizens in making out its proportionate representation?" The answer is that the colored citizen who finds his constitutional right to vote denied to him should do what any other citizen should do, appeal to the courts of his own State for redress; and the case which Mr. Knox cites indicates that he would not make the appeal in vain. Certainly the other States are not to *assume* that the appeal would be in vain until the experiment has been made. Both these answers are very clearly and cogently put by Mr. Knox, and we commend his answers to the careful consideration of our readers.

❀

A Needed Army Reform

The article by Major Seaman, printed elsewhere in this issue, on the medical and sanitary work of the Japanese army makes it very clear that the general public has vital interests at stake and therefore ought to be earnestly interested in

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the medical corps of the United States army. The Outlook has referred to this subject before, pointing out that, as Congress is composed of laymen, it should be guided to a very large degree by experts in debating and deciding technically scientific questions. Dismissing the humanitarian aspect of the question, it is very clear that a modern army cannot be in a good fighting condition unless it is completely equipped with every modern device and art for the maintenance of a high degree of health and vigor among soldiers. It seems singular, therefore, that Senators and Representatives who are vigorous and efficient in their efforts to provide the army with modern rifles, modern explosives, and modern uniforms, do not appear to realize how useless all these appliances are made by defective sanitation and hygiene in the camp and on the battlefield. A correspondent, an army surgeon now stationed at one of our Western posts, calls our attention to the fact that an admirable bill for increasing the efficiency of the medical department of the United States army is now before Congress. This bill has been approved by Surgeon-General O'Reilly, U. S. A., by ex-Secretary of War Root, and by Secretary Taft. A memorandum which accompanies the bill states three serious defects of organization which handicap the efficiency of the medical department of the army at present. These are:

1. A commissioned personnel entirely inadequate to perform the medical service of the army even in time of peace.

2. Insufficient inducement in the way of pay and promotion to attract the most desirable class of young physicians to enter the corps.

3. No satisfactory means of expansion to meet war conditions and special needs in time of peace (epidemics, "little wars," etc.). The only means of expansion heretofore existing, the employment of contract surgeons to supplement the insufficient commissioned personnel, has always been wasteful and unsatisfactory, and has now become absolutely impractical because of the recent decision that, the contract surgeon not being an officer, obedience to his orders cannot be enforced even in the case of the enlisted men of the Hospital Corps.

There is too much ground, we regret to say, for the sorrowful comment which our correspondent makes upon the prospects of this bill. "Even with this [official] unqualified support, together with the support of the legislative committee of the American Medical Association, the probabilities are that the bill will never come to a vote in the House, not because of the opposition to it, but because it will be crowded out by measures which can muster more influence to secure a hearing. Should another occasion arise similar to that of 1898, the people will again wonder at the 'inefficiency' of the medical department, which should be spelled 'insufficiency.'" Those citizens who, like The Outlook, are proud of the record of our army and desire to see its constructive ability strengthened and increased, ought to feel their responsibility as voters in this matter.

❀

A Mischievous Appropriation

In the estimates of the Indian Office presented to Congress as a basis for appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, is the following list of appropriations for sectarian schools:

Name of School.	Denomination.	Total for Year.	Agency.
St. Joseph, Green Bay	Catholic	$18,360	Green Bay
St. Louis	"	9,375	Osage
St. John's	"	8,125	"
Immaculate Conception	"	7,020	Crow Creek
Holy Rosary	"	21,600	Pine R.
St. Francis	"	27,000	Rosebud
St. Labre's	"	6,480	Tongue R.
St. Mary's	"	500	Quapaw
Zoas B'dg School	Lutheran	4,320	Green R.
Totals		$102,780	

In our judgment, the House of Representatives should reduce the appropriations asked for by the Indian Office by $102,780, and attach to the appropriation bill a provision that none of the appropriations may be expended for schools under denominational or ecclesiastical control. The work of educating the Indians was for a time carried on partly by church missions, partly by the Government in Government schools, and partly by a *quasi* partnership between the Government and the churches in which the expense was shared between the two. This partnership between the churches and the Government did not work well, and finally the proposition was made, emanating from the churches themselves, that it be discontinued.

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After a public discussion lasting through several years, the discontinuance was agreed upon by both parties, and the Government settled upon the policy of reducing appropriations for church schools twenty per cent. each year, so that at the end of the five years all appropriations for church schools should cease. At the same time it was understood, and so far as one Administration can pledge another it was agreed, that the Government should undertake to provide secular education for all Indian children of school age residing on Reservations, as the State provides for the secular education of all children in the State. The churches at once began to adjust their work to these new conditions. In some cases they turned their school property over to the Government, in others they discontinued their schools, leaving the Government to organize schools in their place, and in some cases they increased their own contributions in order to maintain schools which before had been partly supported by the Government. In pursuance of this general policy, Congress formally enacted in 1900 that a temporary appropriation then made to maintain contracts with sectarian schools where non-sectarian schools could not be provided, should be "the final appropriation for sectarian schools."

❀

A Recommendation to Our Readers

Congress ought to refuse to make this appropriation, and in the appropriation bill should reaffirm the principle that none of the moneys expended under that act shall go to the support of schools under denominational or ecclesiastical control. It ought to do this for the following reasons: (1) Attorney-General Knox, in February, 1902, advised the President that the Interior Department could not properly even give rations to children attending church schools, because it was a violation of the spirit of the Acts of Congress and of the settled policy of the Government. For the Indian Office now to ask Congress directly to set aside, without notice to the country and without public discussion, the settled policy of the Government, is to ask what ought not to have been asked and what Congress ought not to grant. (2) To set aside this settled policy after the churches of the country have adjusted their mission work to that policy, and to do this in order to give special appropriations to two favored denominations, is not "a square deal." (3) It is seriously injurious to the Indians themselves. There lie before us as we write two petitions from the Crow Creek Agency—one, signed by fifty-three Indians, asking that Congress shall appropriate money to the "Immaculate Conception Mission School," the other, signed by a hundred and six Indians, objecting to the use of their shares of tribal funds for the support of Roman Catholic schools. No possible religious education furnished by catechetical instruction of any kind can conceivably compensate the Indians for the disadvantage resulting from setting them against one another on an issue of this kind, Catholic Indian against Protestant Indian. (4) Because the policy of appropriating money to church schools is in violation of the fundamental principles of our American life, principles which experience has abundantly justified and confirmed. Government cannot make appropriations for church schools without, as a necessary consequence, the encouragement of church lobbies at Washington, pulling against one another in rivalry for appropriations, and Indians in the various tribes set against one another, as the Indians of the Crow Creek Reservation have been by this mischievous proposition. (5) Because it is at least a fair question whether such an appropriation is not a violation of the first Amendment to the Constitution of the United States: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." An appropriation to a school left under the administration and control of a denomination, especially when made to the support of a school upon a Reservation, where no one has a right to go without a license from the Government, comes perilously near a law respecting an establishment of religion. Mr. James S. Sherman is the Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs. We hope that

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he may receive letters from those of our readers who believe in square dealing between the Government and the churches, and in carrying out American principles of religious liberty among the Indians, protesting against this request of the Indian Office for special appropriations for two specially favored religious sects in violation of the settled policy of the Government.

❀

A Niggardly Policy

A bill introduced in the Senate last March, and now in the hands of the Judiciary Committee, provides that after March 4 the salary of the President shall be increased from $50,000 to $75,000, and that the salaries of the Vice-President, Cabinet officers, and members of Congress shall also be increased. Another bill, which was introduced in the House of Representatives during the present session, provides that the President's salary shall be increased to $100,000, beginning March 4, 1909, and that a President after retiring from office shall receive a pension of $25,000 a year during his life. One of these bills, or a compromise bill which would combine the provisions of the two, should be promptly passed as a simple act of justice to those who represent the American people and as a matter of National pride. In the thirty-three years since the salary of the President was raised from $25,000 to $50,000 the cost of living in this country has largely increased, and it is practically impossible for the President to live in a manner worthy of the Chief Magistrate of our Nation without drawing largely upon his own private income. The same is equally true of the other officials whose salaries would be affected by the proposed bills. A deplorable result of this niggardly policy in the payment of public servants is that only men who have moderately large incomes, independent of their salaries, can afford to accept election to Congress or appointment to the higher offices in the executive branch of the Government. The Nation is thus deprived of the services of men of the highest ability, but without the requisite income. Several years ago it was reported that Senator Hoar had been offered the post of Ambassador to England, but had been compelled to decline it because he could not afford to keep up the establishment which the American Ambassador to the Court of St. James's ought to have. The salaries which our diplomatic representatives receive are ridiculously small when compared with those of other nations, especially since our Government has steadily refused to provide permanent quarters for our Legations, and our Ministers must expend a large proportion of their salaries for house-rent. Dr. Andrew D. White, in the reminiscences of his diplomatic career in the January number of the "Century Magazine," tells of his experience when he went to Berlin as Ambassador to Germany. He had great difficulty in obtaining suitable quarters, but finally secured a large apartment which was satisfactory. He spent more than his first year's salary in furnishing and fitting up the apartment, and after eighteen months he was notified that the house had been sold and that he must leave. With difficulty he succeeded in effecting a compromise by which he remained in the house for another year. The purchaser of the house in which he occupied an apartment was the little Grand Duchy of Baden, which made use of the entire building for its Legation. The inevitable comparison is by no means flattering to American National pride.

❀

Dr. Carroll D. Wright on the Tariff

A conspicuous feature of the recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was the address of the retiring President, Dr. Carroll D. Wright, and in that address a striking feature was the reference to the tariff. One does not always think of science as connected with the tariff, if for no other reason than that all tariffs have been so unscientific. But science may do much in modifying the extreme views held, not only by manufacturers and the politicians who represent them, but also by broader-minded economists and statesmen. The present attitude of many men is that tariff legislation relates entirely to the question of expediency; that there is

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little if any principle involved in either free trade or protection. Whether this be right or wrong, the power of science as applied to the whole matter lies, as Dr. Wright points out, in equalizing conditions everywhere. This process goes on constantly, and will help to show legislators the true path to be pursued. Dr. Wright thinks the tariff question more sociological than economic.

Until the conditions of the different peoples that are engaged in competing industries are more thoroughly equalized, probably both the great political parties in our country, acting together, could not get rid of some form of a protective tariff; but when, through scientific methods and the application of scientific principles to industry on a broad scale, the conditions of the people become more thoroughly equalized, I doubt if both parties together will be able to preserve legislation relative to an expediency now felt to be important. A scientific basis of tariff legislation is sure to be advocated, and when it comes it will be the entering wedge to simplifying the commercial and industrial relations of different peoples. As already intimated, the uniformizing of prices, the expansion of transportation, and all the other instrumentalities for reducing the size of the world, from an industrial point of view, are affecting and will affect more generally legislation relative to imports and exports.

In the consideration of the tariff by the coming Congress, the task will thus not be as difficult as it was in 1897, and in other previous years when transportation had not been so expanded nor prices so "uniformized" as at the present day. The result should be at least a more scientific and equitable tariff than any yet framed.

❀

Governor Folk's Inaugural

The principal feature of the inaugural address of Governor Joseph W. Folk, of Missouri, was, as might have been expected, a reference to the pollution of politics by bribery. Mr. Folk was preeminently the stern agent to awaken Missourians from their slumbering public conscience to the necessity of remedying civic evils. We are not surprised to learn that now, from every section of Missouri, comes the demand that the General Assembly shall be freed from the evil of bribery which has disgraced former bodies. Governor Folk justly says that there has been no more corruption in Missouri than in some other States, but it has been exposed and punished in Missouri as it has not been punished in other States. Nevertheless, the whole country is looking to see whether the recent action in Missouri is only a passing virtuous spasm or not. What is to be done is told in the Governor's words: "Every rumor of bribery should be investigated, and, with the assistance of the Attorney-General's department, the Executive will lend to you every aid in sifting to the bottom all reports of this character." It is too often the tendency of good men in legislative bodies, as Governor Folk says, to close their eyes to corruption. Satisfied with their own honesty, they forget that it is as much their duty to protect and defend the honor of the State as their own honor. But, as Jefferson says, "The time to guard against corruption is before it gets hold of us. It is easier to keep the wolf from the fold than to trust to drawing his teeth and claws after he gets in." In this spirit Governor Folk is not satisfied with merely exhorting Missouri legislators to be good; he points to hoped-for legislative enactments as showing the proof of goodness. A law should be enacted compelling witnesses to testify as to their knowledge of bribery transactions, and excepting such witnesses from prosecution for any matters directly or indirectly growing out of such testimony. It often happens, as Mr. Folk points out, that corruption, by reason of the secrecy with which it works, like the mole underground, does not come to light until years after. Hence the present Missouri statute of limitation of three years is too short a time to bar prosecution for the offense; the statute should be five years instead of three. Again, to take away the incentive for bribery as far as possible, all franchises, rights, and privileges secured by bribery should be declared null and void.

When one steals a horse, he cannot transfer any title to it, and the owner may recover it wherever found. This rule should be made to apply to the people's property stolen from the people by bribing their representatives, and the people should be entitled to reclaim their own. The law should require all franchises to be sold at public auction, and a sufficient length of time allowed after

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the sale for any one to raise the bid, to prevent collusion.

While these laws would undoubtedly aid in suppressing bribery, the ultimate remedy for corruption lies in the public conscience. To that conscience, in and outside of Missouri, Mr. Folk appeals with well-earned authority.

❀

Corporate Franchises in New Jersey

The State of New Jersey, long notorious as the paradise of corporations, is becoming aroused to the need of maintaining popular control over corporate franchises. The arrogance of certain street railway interests in demanding a perpetual franchise has been the occasion of an outbreak of public indignation that has spread to various parts of the State. A traction company expected to get a franchise to operate a railway on an avenue in Orange. The people of East Orange had voted, three to one, to establish a parkway on the avenue. In spite of this fact, the Common Council granted a twenty-year franchise for an annual payment of $5,000. But the company wanted better terms. The Mayor vetoed the ordinance, and a substitute ordinance was started on its way through the Council granting for $1,000 a year the franchise in perpetuity. Thereupon public sentiment found expression. With very plain speech citizens protested against the granting of the franchise, and so impressed the Council that it indefinitely postponed action on the matter. The protest was not against the substitution of the trolley line for the park so much as against the granting of an enormously valuable franchise in the interests, not of the people, but of the traction company. Mr. F. W. Kelsey, of Orange, has put concretely the way in which a community suffers from the practice of granting franchises in perpetuity to public service corporations. One company, he points out, which operates nine miles of track, has a capital value of over nine millions of dollars—more than a million dollars for every mile of the line, amounting in all to more than nine-elevenths of the city's taxable value. The company has to pay dividends on this whole capitalization. Consequently the people have to pay in fares the difference between the income from the real value and the watered value. He has put the truth in another way with regard to another company. This holds securities valued at $59,000,000; yet its line could be duplicated for less than $10,000,000. The difference, $49,000,000, is the value of the franchise the people have granted to that company for all time—a sum that could be used for public improvements if it had not been handed over to the corporation. There is now a public agitation for a State law limiting franchises to a twenty-year period—a most reasonable demand. The new Governor, Mr. E. C. Stokes, in his inaugural address, had nothing to say concerning corporations except in defense of them. It is to be hoped that he, as well as the Legislature, may learn from this popular uprising that the people as well as the corporations have possessions and rights to be protected.

❀

Opposition to Erie Canal Enlargement

In spite of the fact that the people of New York State have voted, by a majority which we understand has only once been surpassed in the history of the State, to enlarge the Erie Canal, the people opposed to the enlargement are confident that it will never be made. Not even a popular vote can override Constitutional provisions or prohibitions, and it is claimed that the Act passed by the Legislature and approved by the people is unconstitutional. Supporters of the canal project assert, on the other hand, that this Constitutional objection is not raised in good faith, but is brought forth at this time simply to interfere with the letting of contracts and with the selling of canal bonds, by raising doubts as to their validity. Assuming as we must that this question is raised in good faith, we are clear that an obligation rests upon both parties to the controversy, and upon the courts, to see that the settlement of the question is expedited. In a matter on which the people of the State have spoken so decisively obstructive delay is inexcusable. That the opposition comes from the railroads through fear of competition has

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been denied by Senator Depew, whose connection with the New York Central entitles him to speak with assurance. He points out, as others have done, that demand for transportation increases with the supply. The State Grange is openly against the canal project. The farmers of the State feel that they are to be taxed for the benefit of Western grain-raisers. In spite of this opposition, which we believe to be either selfish or mistaken, two facts ought not to be obscured: first, that the prosperity of the whole State depends on that of New York City, and this in turn depends on a steady improvement of transportation facilities between Europe and the West; second, that a through waterway to the West has in the past proved to be an effective means for keeping railroad freight rates reasonable, and therefore transportation active. The Constitutional question must, of course, be settled by the courts.

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A Legislature's Self-Respect Preserved

By declaring the seat of Thomas F. Curley vacant, the Massachusetts House of Representatives has saved the Commonwealth from the shame which now belongs alone to the district in Boston which elected him. As was stated in The Outlook for December 24, this man was convicted of impersonating a candidate at a civil service examination for letter-carriers, and was sent to jail. In spite of this fact, the district chose him as its representative in the Legislature by an overwhelming vote. Thus, until last week there was among the legislators-elect of the State a man who was not only a convict, but one who had been guilty of fraud against the United States Government. The action of the Massachusetts House was prompt and effectual. There was some discussion as to whether the man had a right to be heard in his own defense; but the vote of 175 to 48 shows that the majority of the House were convinced that a man who had been proved guilty before a court of law had no right to demand further trial. The matter, moreover, was simplified by the fact that this would-be legislator was still a prisoner, and that therefore the House was dealing not with a past but a present offender. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has thus freed itself from any complicity with the disgraced voters of Curley's district, and has expressed its conviction that, as Mr. Bennett, a Representative from Boston, says, when a man enters the House he does so not merely as the representative of a district, but of the whole Commonwealth. This action, moreover, required some courage on the part of the legislators because there was no known case sufficiently analogous to which they could appeal. The declaration, therefore, that this seat is vacant is of special value, for it can hereafter serve as a precedent. Whenever such a case arises again, if ever it does, in any State, right punishment can be meted out to the offender more easily because the Massachusetts House of Representatives has at this time done its duty.

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Civic Betterment in Los Angeles

The city of Los Angeles, California, has a Municipal League that seems to be made of the same kind of workaday material as the Municipal Voters' League in Chicago. The Los Angeles organization, although only four years old, has already brought about a number of reforms in the charter of the city, bringing the government nearer to the federal plan, establishing a complete civil service system, allowing the use of the initiative and the referendum and the recall, the latter being a new feature in municipal government, whose practical working was described in a recent number of The Outlook. The League has also worked out a unique plan for the gradual elimination of the pole and wire nuisance, and has accomplished a number of administrative reforms. At the last municipal election the League made its first appearance in the field of politics, entering the campaign with a carefully selected non-partisan School Board and a candidate for Street Superintendent, the latter department of the city government having fallen into such an utterly demoralized condition that the Grand Jury of the county had been compelled to devote its exclusive attention to its misdeeds and mismanagement. In spite

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of the bad record of the incumbent, he had been renominated by the Republican Convention by a two-thirds majority, and the city is Republican by a clear majority of over twelve thousand. Many of the ablest political leaders of both parties were on the side of the incumbent, together with all the large contractors and the machinery of the Republican party. Nothing daunted, the League went before the Democratic Convention and got its choice for Street Superintendent accepted in place of the man the Democrats had intended to put up; and the non-partisan School Board was nominated by that Convention by acclamation. The League's Campaign Committee contained thirty of the leading men of the city, twenty-five of them Republicans; and the working force was made up of thoroughly practical people. The city was plastered with posters and showered with circulars, organizations were formed in every precinct, the women's clubs were brought together and put to work, and the newspapers, with one notable exception, fell cheerfully into line for civic betterment. The results exceeded the fondest hopes of the Leaguers. The normal Republican majority of twelve thousand melted away, and the League's nominee for Street Superintendent was elected by 9,500. The non-partisan School Board, which contained a body of picked men of a type rarely found in city governments, was elected by from three thousand to four thousand majority against the Republican nominees. At the same time the League's new charter amendments all carried, one of which makes the street superintendency appointive before another election occurs. A notable gain was made for the civil service principle in the strict enforcement by the Commission of the pernicious activity rule, whereby half a dozen employees were called up for discipline and two were dismissed from service.

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Resignation of the French Ministry

Premier Combes never showed his remarkable fighting power as a leader in a popular assembly to greater advantage than during a three days' debate last week. The concluding session lasted over ten hours, and at times the Chamber of Deputies rang with denunciations of his policy, his aims, and his character, to the accompaniment of almost every kind of disorder to which a popular assembly is subject. Every section of the Opposition attacked him in succession; and one Royalist Deputy, who seems to have represented the feeling without having inherited the manners of the old régime, rushed at the Premier with a huge saucepan. It was a raging sea of feeling, in which the Premier carried himself with undaunted courage. For some time past the Opposition to the Ministry has been gaining ground. It was made up of those who either hated the policy of the Premier toward the Roman Catholic Church or thought it too drastic, those who were scandalized by the discovery that the lives of army officers had been subjected to a systematic and outrageous spying system, and those who were dissatisfied because the Ministry had not committed itself to the passage of a measure creating an income tax. All these elements M. Combes confronted last week, and it was at the end of a three days' debate that he made his defense, declaring that his detractors were the same men who sought to protect Esterhazy, who had glorified Colonel Henry, and who are now seeking to arouse the army to the pitch of attempting a *coup d'état*. He wanted time, he declared, to complete the work against the religious associations, and if the Ministry was retained, when that work was finished, he would proceed to consider the income tax, workingmen's pensions, and the separation of Church and State. He displayed throughout the audacity and parliamentary skill which he has shown on many other hotly contested fields. The Ministry was sustained by a vote of 289 to 279. But although victorious and in all probability able to hold its own for months to come, the Ministry has placed its resignation in the hands of President Loubet. The impression prevails that M. Combes will be succeeded by either M. Rouvier or M. Brissan, that the change of Ministers will not mean any marked change of

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policy. The real basis of dissatisfaction with the Ministry appears to have been, not its policy toward the Roman Catholic Church, but the espionage of the lives of army officers.

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Russia and China Russia has addressed a letter of protest to the different Powers, charging China with violations of neutrality, and intimating that Japan is trying to involve that country in the present war. The note specifies that China permitted the use of Miaotao Island, in the Straits of Pechili, opposite Port Arthur, to be used as a naval base for Japanese operations. This island has been regarded by the Japanese as belonging to the part of Liaotung Peninsula leased to Russia, and the same view has been held by the Russians; and therefore, if it is practically Russian territory, the Japanese had as much right to occupy it as to occupy any of the positions which have been taken from the Russians in Manchuria. It is stated that the island could under no circumstances serve as a naval base, for geographical reasons; that it is a point to be avoided rather than sought. It is also alleged that the Japanese have been furnished with supplies of iron from Chinese mines, and that depredations have been committed on the Manchurian branches of the Russian railroad by Chinese soldiers, led by Japanese officers. Diplomatic circles are divided over the significance of the protest. It particularly concerns our Government, because Mr. Hay suggested and secured the assent of the Powers to the plan of neutralizing Chinese territory. Now Russia, on the ground that China has not maintained her neutrality, threatens to take such action in the premises as she pleases, holding herself absolved from the original agreement. This may mean very little, because a country which cannot maintain its positions in Manchuria is not likely to carry on an aggressive warfare against China. It is suspected that Russia is endeavoring to introduce new elements into the situation, in the hope either of modifying present conditions by bringing in other Powers, or of opening the way for an honorable peace by furnishing a base for dealing with the whole situation afresh. The Russian cavalry raid of last week, in which General Mistchenko's Cossacks actually entered the old, or Chinese, city of Niuchuang, was made possible only by the deliberate invasion of country heretofore held neutral by mutual agreement. Japan is likely to follow Russia's example, and China's position is an unenviable one.

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Home Affairs No radical change in the internal condition of Russia has come to the knowledge of the world during the past week, and it is difficult, in the multitude of conflicting reports, to form any accurate estimate of the strength of the dissatisfaction now spreading throughout the entire Empire. That this dissatisfaction will be operative in securing some modification of existing conditions appears to be generally believed. The Czar is still apparently engaged in the endeavor to keep on good terms with both parties: to please his family, the ecclesiastical head of the Church, and the leaders of the bureaucracy, and, on the other hand, to keep in touch with the leaders of the Liberal movement. The hopes of those who are working for better conditions center, apparently, on M. de Witte, who is likely to be the controlling force in Russian administration during the next few months. That he will satisfy the largest demands of the Liberal party is very improbable; that he will take up again the policy of economic reform and development with which his name was formerly identified, that his administration will be courageous and honest, and that his sympathies will be with the Liberal movement, are things practically certain. In the European capitals the situation is regarded as very grave. Mr. Kennan, writing from Japan, says:

> This war is going to determine, not only the future of the Far East, but, in all probability, the future of Russia. All of my advices from personal friends and all the Russian newspapers that I receive indicate that the forces opposed to the autocracy are gathering strength with great rapidity, and that the Empire, so far at least as the Government is concerned, is on the eve of something like a transformation. Everybody, in all

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ranks of society—and particularly in the upper circles—is beginning to see that the governing class is hopelessly corrupt and incapable, and that the diseases from which the country is suffering cannot be cured by sixteenth-century remedies. I do not look for a revolution, but I do look for a return to power of the liberal and progressive party, tremendously reinforced and strengthened, and a great change in the government of the Empire. The defeat of Russia in this war, which I regard as almost certain, will destroy the prestige of the autocracy, break down the power of the obstructionists and reactionists, and force the Czar to look for help and counsel to the people and their liberal representatives. Already there is a great change in public sentiment and feeling. Ideas for which men were sent to Siberia eighteen years ago are now being discussed, in the most surprising way, in the Russian press.

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Louise Michel Louise Michel, who died at her home in Marseilles last week, was the stormy petrel of an age of agitation in France happily put into the background by a generation of growing steadiness and familiarity with popular government. Born probably about seventy years ago at a castle in the Province of Haute-Marne in the northeast of France, the daughter of the owner of the castle and of an unmarried mother, she received a good education, showing a decided talent for music and poetry, and at one time wrote a series of poems which were published and received the commendation of Victor Hugo and Lamartine. The serious part of her life began, she was in the habit of saying, with the death of her father and her acceptance of a position as assistant teacher of a school in Paris, where her earnings were so miserably small that she had to borrow money of the cook. Of a warm-hearted and very humane temperament, Louise Michel's opinions rapidly took on a revolutionary character. After her settlement in Paris she came into intimate relation with the men and women who were arrayed against Napoleon III. She took part in revolutionary meetings, and went so far as to paste a Republican manifesto on the back of a gendarme. She was intending to assassinate the Emperor when the Franco-German War broke out. During the siege she was indefatigable in nursing the sick and wounded, and, putting on the uniform of a common soldier, she took part in the various sorties against the German army investing Paris. When the Commune broke out, she threw herself heart and soul into the movement, and fought like a tigress on the barricades, took part in the burning of the public buildings, and was one of the group of desperate revolutionists who made the last stand in the movement in Montmartre Cemetery. Condemned by court martial to penal servitude for life, she spent two years in jail, and was afterwards sent to New Caledonia, where she passed the time of her banishment in nursing the sick and in teaching. She returned under the general amnesty of 1880 to Paris, and was received with immense applause by her compatriots. She continued to preach Anarchy in the streets and clubs, spent three additional years in prison, and addressed Anarchistic meetings in various parts of Europe, devoting herself everywhere with boundless tenderness to the unfortunate. Her personal life was above reproach, and the name applied to her, the "Red Virgin," was a tribute to its purity. She was a conscientious and devoted opponent of organized society, a woman who gave her life to others, and who never failed to back her creed by identifying her personal fortunes with it.

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German and American Professors In a recent audience at Berlin the Kaiser is reported as saying to Mr. Tower, the American Ambassador: "I wish that an arrangement could be made under which American professors could come to our universities and deliver courses of lectures each year, and for German professors to go to American universities and deliver lectures there." Mr. Tower assured the Emperor of the welcome which the suggestion would find in America. Mr. Tower's assurance has been justified by the favor which the suggestion has immediately received here; the Kaiser has given another proof of his acute and brilliant mind. No matter what ultimate scheme he may have for putting American patience to the test, his course toward this country has been tactful ever

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since he assumed the responsibilities of the Imperial throne. He has been conspicuously friendly to our diplomatic representatives in Berlin. He has been careful to send to Washington as his own Ambassadors only those who seemed fit to awaken confidence in the President and the people. He has taken opportunity in his speeches to refer to America and to Americans in peculiarly complimentary and appreciative language. He has also extended to American private citizens certain court and other social privileges hardly attainable by the ordinary or even the extraordinary German. He sent his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, officially to visit this country, a visit which awakened feelings of respect and admiration not only for the royal visitor but for his Imperial brother. The latter then invited Miss Roosevelt to christen the Imperial yacht Meteor. He presented a statue of his ancestor and America's friend, Frederick the Great, to the American people. Finally, the Kaiser has done two things which not only strengthen Americo-German friendship, but are also notable events in the domain of education. He presented to Harvard University a magnificent collection of works of art, constituting a Germanic Museum; and he has now made the admirable suggestion already quoted. When this suggestion is realized in fact, American students may not have quite so much reason to go to Germany. Certainly if we could have had as even temporary lecturers here Virchow, Treitschke, Curtius, Grimm, Paulsen, Harnack, Pfleiderer, Weiss—to cite a few names at random—some Americans might have stayed at home instead of going abroad to get what could not be had in this country. On the other hand, the German universities, great as they are, might gain something which even they lack if the list of their lecturers could include some strong and representative American names.

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Safety Appliances for Railroads

A slight accident in the New York City Subway last week ought to be heeded because of the bearing it has on the matter of preventing public disasters. If the result of this rear-end collision between two local trains had been the death of twenty or thirty passengers, there would have been a violent expression of public indignation and an insistent public demand for new safety appliances. The fact remains, however, that this slight mishap indicates the need of increased safety appliances as clearly as if it had been a horrible catastrophe. Before the Subway was opened, much was heard about an automatic block system to be used which would not only set signals of danger but also apply the brakes by a device attached to the tracks. This system is completely in operation, however, only on the express tracks; its absence from the local tracks made the accident of last week possible. It ought not to be necessary for some great disaster to happen before the managers of the Subway see the necessity for increasing the safety of Subway travelers. It is more and more becoming evident that with the increase of speed and frequency of trains there needs to be a concomitant increase of safety appliances. The less that the lives of passengers depend on fallible human judgment and variable conditions of weather, the better. England has recently learned this in the experiences brought about by the dense, smoky fog that surrounded London last month. Trains crept along because engineers could not discern signals. The London "Spectator" took this occasion to urge that danger signals be installed within the locomotive cabs and be of the sort that would not only warn against danger but actually stop the locomotive without the assistance of the engineer. Such devices have been invented and are in operation. The problem of putting them into use is therefore not one for inventors but for practical railroad men.

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Modern Cathedrals

In spite of the widespread assumption that no more great churches of the cathedral order are to be reared, it is a serious question whether the age of cathedral-building has passed. The modern cathedral must be built under very different conditions from the cathedrals of the fourteenth or fif-

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teenth centuries. It is not the most direct expression of the genius of architecture, nor is it the most general and natural expression of the piety of the people at large; but it is by no means certain that some of the conditions which made the cathedral inevitable and popular may not return again. In any event, there are several cathedrals now being built in this country. The beautiful choir of the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral at Albany was dedicated last fall; a movement is on foot to build a Cathedral at Washington; there are several important Roman Catholic Cathedrals in the country either completed or in process of building; and the announcement that Mr. Levi P. Morton, of New York City, has given six hundred thousand dollars to the fund for the building of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on Morningside Heights assures not only the speedy completion of the Choir of that building, but the erection of three other arches and the completion of the great square known as the "Crossing," which will include the central part of the nave. When completed, as it is now hoped it will be within three years, this section will make the largest church in America, seating over five thousand people. One million dollars is necessary to carry to completion what is regarded as the second stage in the building of this great structure, involving the Choir, the "Crossing," and the seven chapels about the Choir. Only one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of this amount remains to be raised, and it is thought that there will be no trouble in securing this additional sum. The work on the Cathedral was begun eleven years ago, and a total expenditure of more than twenty millions of dollars is expected. About the great church will be erected a Synod House, a House for Deaconesses, a residence for the Bishop, and other structures necessary for carrying on organized Christian work in a great city. The only justification for such an immense investment in buildings must be the breadth and depth of religious life interpreted and illustrated under the direction of the Cathedral Chapter. From the beginning Bishop Potter has insisted on sinking the foundations of the Cathedral, so to speak, in the actual needs of the city of New York; and the work of the Pro-Cathedral has accomplished a great deal in domesticating the cathedral idea in a New World metropolis of the twentieth century and in justifying the great expenditure of money involved.

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Robert College Two years ago one of the subjects given out for a thesis in the Russian Theological Seminary at Kiev was, "The Influence of Robert College in the Development of Bulgaria." Russia has found the influence of that College there a factor which she has had to take into serious account; indeed, it has been said by Russian as well as by high Turkish officials that Robert College really created Bulgaria. Its influence has also been abundantly recognized throughout Europe and America. In Bulgaria itself the first National Assembly, which met to adopt a constitution and to choose a Prince, passed a resolution expressing the gratitude of the new-born nation to the College. Prince Alexander conferred a high decoration on the President of the College to express his personal appreciation, and last summer Prince Ferdinand did the same. Robert College has not only been the backbone of Bulgaria; it has been the greatest civilizing power in the Turkish Empire. Sir William White, who knew that Empire better than has any recent British ambassador, once remarked that the College had accomplished more for the good of the Turks than had all the representatives of the British Government; and Professor Ramsey, of St. Andrew's, who has spent many years in exploring Asia Minor, says:

> I have come in contact with men educated in Robert College in widely separate parts of the country, men of diverse nationalities and different forms of religion—Greek, Armenian, and Protestant—and have everywhere been struck with the marvelous way in which a certain uniform type, direct, simple, honest, and lofty in tone, has been impressed upon them. Some had more of it, some less. But all had it to a certain degree, and it is diametrically opposite to the type produced by growth under the ordinary conditions of Turkish life.

The College is not organized for the purpose of missionary propaganda. It is

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not denominational. It is Christian in the broad sense in which Princeton, Yale, and Harvard are Christian colleges. In its faculty it has a Mohammedan Professor of Turkish language and literature, and an orthodox Greek Professor of Greek language and literature. Its aim is not to destroy or weaken the ancient Christian Churches of the East, but to develop the moral and spiritual life of its students, and send them back to their communities equipped with intellectual, moral, and spiritual preparation for their life-work. It draws students, not only from Turkey, but also from Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Russia, and has already educated nearly twenty-six hundred. If the demands upon the College continue to increase in the future as in the past, its endowment will have to be doubled. Occupying one of the most beautiful sites on the Bosphorus, the College has at present five buildings, besides six houses for professors, a teaching staff of twelve professors and twenty-five other instructors. In order to keep its lead in equipment and progress it must now appoint new professors and erect new buildings. Friends of this Christian but unsectarian college, open to all without distinction of race or religion, should not fail to respond to its present appeal. The Treasurer is Mr. F. A. Booth, 22 East Sixteenth Street, New York City.

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A University Gymnasium

The recent dedication of the new gymnasium at the University of Pennsylvania is an event of interest, not only to one of the foremost of American institutions of higher learning, which preserves the unbroken tradition of scholarship and intellectual activity from colonial times to the present in the city of Philadelphia, but to the country at large. This gymnasium, which is one of the most beautiful and commodious college buildings in the country, has cost nearly six hundred thousand dollars, the whole amount having been raised by the Athletic Association through the gifts of the graduates and students of the institution. The architect has treated the English colonial style freely and, it is said, successfully, for American and academic uses. The investment of such a sum of money in a gymnasium would have seemed a generation ago either a great piece of extravagance or as showing a great lack of knowledge of educational values. As a matter of fact, however, a college gymnasium to-day is not what a college gymnasium was thirty years ago; it is not simply a place of exercise, but a building for physical education; and physical education is quite as much a part of education in the large sense as the work of the class-room and of the lecture-room. In such buildings in the best universities and colleges every detail of work is directed by an expert who is a member of the Faculty, and whose relation to the total instruction of the institution is as intimate as that of a professor of history or of languages. Dr. J. William White, a distinguished physician of Philadelphia, in his address emphasized the reciprocal effect of muscle and mind, and the necessity of translating the activity of the one into the corresponding activity of the other, and brought out the immense educational quality in the right kind of athletics. If the gymnasium had been dedicated solely, to quote Provost Harrison, "for the very important purpose of increasing the average health and strength of the entire student body of the University," this great expenditure of money would have been justified; but it is devoted also to a larger conception of training and to that treatment of the body of a man as well as the mind which was so firmly rooted in the Greek system of education and which has played so great a part in education at the English universities. No institution in the country has added more rapidly to its building equipment of late years than the University of Pennsylvania, nor are there to be found in the country more striking and suitable academic edifices than those belonging to this University.

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Employees as Employers

Experience as employers changes the train of thought of employees. If all workingmen could be placed in the position of their employers for a time, the present

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industrial problems would assume a different complexion. That they would be easier of solution is strongly indicated by a practical experiment of the kind stated. The evolution of a labor union that went into business for itself presents significant sociological results. The experiment in question was the result of labor trouble, of the usual character, between Polishers' Union No. 113 and the Eastman Kodak Company, in June, 1902. The manager, Mr. Frank A. Brownell, refused to grant the union's demands. As a last resort, he suggested that the dissatisfied workmen start a shop of their own. He agreed to give them his work at current prices. He also agreed to lease them his plant. The offer was accepted and a stock company formed. There were thirty-four equal stockholders. They formed the working force, and, besides receiving standard wages, shared in the profits. Two years and a half after the start the original thirty-four shares are owned by five of the original stockholders. Several of the organizers are working at day wages for the five who gradually obtained all the capital stock. The present owners, instead of running a union shop, refuse to treat with the local union, and conduct an open shop. When the union insisted upon enforcement of some of its rules concerning hours and other details, the new proprietors announced that they would close the shop first. The five union men, by the evolution of business and time, are now in the same relation to their employees that the Eastman Kodak Company is and was when Mr. Brownell refused the union's demands. The once co-operative company is really no more than any partnership concern, and is in the open field of competition, animated by the same personal ambition as any private company or corporation. This experiment, while it has made non-union men out of five of the experimenters, has doubtless more than ever convinced the other twenty-nine of the necessity and benefits of union organization. It shows also that human nature is much the same, in unions or out of unions, and that men will always look closely after their own interests.

The Senate

The fathers were afraid to trust the people. Their apprehensions were natural, for the period was that of the French Revolution, and our own Revolution had not been without its excesses. So they provided in the Constitution for a series of checks and counterchecks. The Senate was to be a check on the House of Representatives; the Supreme Court a check on both; all three a check on the President; the President in turn a check on Congress. The President was not to be elected by the people, but wise men elected by the people were to elect a President. The Senators were not to be elected by the people, but by wise legislators elected by the people. The source of power was in the people, no doubt; but there was a complicated system of cogs and pulleys and bands to be moved before the power could become operative.

We do not criticise the fathers. We admire their wisdom. Democracy was an untried experiment. It is easier to remove obstacles to the immediate execution of the people's will than to impose the obstacles on a will which has been left unchecked. The people were unused to power. It was necessary that they should become accustomed to it. Now they are accustomed to it. And experience has proved that it is the people that are to be trusted and the magnates that are not.

Members of the Senate represent interests—sometimes commercial, sometimes political. Occasionally Senators represent a State; there are still left a few Senators who really represent the Nation.

Most Americans imagine that the people have just elected a President of the United States; they are mistaken. The people elected electors, and the electors elect a President. In New York State the people have supposed that they were about to elect a United States Senator. That is also a mistake. Mr. Platt and Mr. Odell have elected the Senator. Mr. Depew has formally announced that the question is settled. Before this issue of The Outlook reaches our readers the Legislature will probably have met and ratified the election. But

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their ratification of the election will be as much a matter of form as the ratification of the election of Roosevelt and Fairbanks by the Electoral College. The only difference will be that the Electoral College will ratify an election by the people, and the New York Legislature will ratify an election by the magnates—political magnates. In Connecticut the magnates were not agreed as to which of two candidates should represent them in the Senate. Apparently the only question was, which should outmaneuver or outbuy the other, until Dr. Newman Smyth interfered. He had a curious notion that the people have some rights that magnates are bound to respect. But ministers are notoriously impracticable idealists.

One Senator recently has been unseated for notorious bribery in his election. Another represents, not his State, but an organization partly political, partly ecclesiastical, socially immoral, and the question whether he shall represent it, when he purports to represent his State, is now under discussion. Three Senators have been recently indicted for violation of the law. Even Senators are to be presumed innocent until they are proved guilty—but the incident is not agreeable. Mr. Addicks is endeavoring to buy his way into the Senate, and, so far as is known, no Senator has yet uttered a word of protest, and, if reports are true, more than one Senator has given him moral support. There are, no doubt, some high-minded men in the Senate, some of eminent ability, a good many skillful politicians, some real statesmen. But the personnel of the Senate, as a whole, cannot be compared with that of the Senate in the days of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, or of Sumner, Seward, and Chase.

The Senate's rules are ridiculous: there is no other word to describe them. The "courtesy of the Senate" forbids the Senate to confirm any nomination against the protest of the Senators from the State in which the candidate is to serve and to which the candidate is to be allotted. So for two years the name of a candidate nominated to the Senate by the President remained in committee. It was not even reported to the Senate. The Senate did not refuse to confirm the nomination of Dr. Crum to be Collector of the Port of Charleston. The committee refused to allow the Senate to consider whether it would confirm him. And the patient Senate submitted. There is no limit to debate in the Senate. So any three men can prohibit the passage of any measure. They do not even have to be good talkers. They can send to the clerk books, documents, newspapers, anything, for the clerk to read, as a part of their speech. When A gets tired of talking, B relieves him, C in turn relieves A, and by the time C is through A can begin again. This not only can be done, it is done. The Senate could not at its last session—or was it the session before the last?—reduce the tariff between the United States and the Philippines, because two or three Senators threatened to talk to the end of the session if the bill was pressed. The Secretary of War is now pressing for such a reduction. If the question were submitted to the country, the affirmative answer would be overwhelming. If it were submitted to the Senate, the affirmative answer would be overwhelming. But the only apparent chance of getting it submitted to the Senate is by the consent of the tobacco Senators and the beet-sugar Senators. And they are not agreed. One interest is said to be willing to compromise on a reduction of fifty per cent. if that can be made permanent; the other, it is reported, will consent to no reduction at all. The people have nothing to say; the Senate has nothing to say.

The latest exhibition of the Senate's activity in promoting inaction is afforded by its treatment of the arbitration treaties. Christendom has organized a court for the settlement of international difficulties. Its object is to substitute reason for force in determining which of two parties to a controversy is in the right. "The suppression of antagonism between nations," said John Morley to his Pittsburg audience last November, "is the one reform that would bring all other moral reforms in its train." Of all countries in the world, America should be the first to welcome this reform. For it has proved its efficacy by its creation of a

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court to suppress antagonism between States. Of all countries in the world, America would be the first to welcome this reform if the people had anything to say about it. The Administration, which truly represents the people, as the late election shows, has proved itself eager to welcome this reform. It has negotiated seven treaties with as many European States, agreeing to refer to the court at The Hague in the future differences of a legal nature or such as relate to the interpretation of treaties and do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the contracting nations, nor concern the interest of third parties. And the Senate is holding up these treaties. Can the reader guess why? There are two reasons. Some Southern Senators profess to be afraid that under these treaties the question of the payment of bonds issued by certain Southern States in reconstruction times and since repudiated may be submitted to The Hague. The bond of a State no more constitutes a claim against the United States than it does against England or France. Southern Senators, with their inheritance of the doctrine of States' rights, do not need to be told this. If they do, then we tell them that States have some rights notwithstanding the Civil War. If a Democratic administration had negotiated these treaties, Democratic Senators would not be prevented from voting for them by any such pretense.

But the other ground of opposition is even worse. The treaties are opposed because they interfere with the prerogative of the Senate. It is the prerogative of the Senate to decide whether any particular question shall be submitted to arbitration. So it is proposed to amend these treaties by inserting in them a clause that no question shall be so submitted until the Senate has approved the submission. In other words, it is gravely proposed by honorable Senators solemnly to agree with the nations of the earth that we will submit to arbitrate any question which may arise, provided that when it arises we agree to submit it to arbitration. This is to make ourselves a laughing-stock before the nations of the earth. Have our Senators no saving sense of humor?

Perhaps public sentiment in the Nation may provoke the Senate to adopt these treaties without amendment. The Outlook hopes so. But if not, if the Senate raises the issue, The Outlook hopes that the President will meet it with the same patient vigor with which he met the issue raised in the case of Cuban reciprocity. It is quite as clear, and will be more widely and better understood. If the Senate incorporates any such opera bouffe amendment in the treaties, we hope that the President will refuse to proffer the emasculated sham to other nations for their consideration. We recognize the fact that it is a grave matter for the President to come into an open controversy with the Senate. But perhaps the time has come for such a controversy. Perhaps the President can render the country no better service than by calling its attention to the efficient engine for obstruction and the inefficient engine for action which it has evolved out of the Senate—a machine which is all brakes and no steam. Certainly no President ever was, and probably no President ever will be, in better position for such a controversy than he who has behind him a popular plurality of two million votes. Certainly no issue could be clearer, and it is not easy to conceive of one more popular, than the question whether, in the progress toward a world-peace, America shall lead the van or bring up the rear.

We need a new Senate. We need one elected, not by magnates to represent interests, but by the people to represent the people. We need a popular instead of a legislative election of Senators, and we need a popular instead of a caucus nomination of Senators. If the obstructionists in the Senate who refuse to deal justly with the Filipinos lest their own special interests suffer, and the obstructionists in the Senate who refuse to promote peace lest their Senatorial dignity suffer, succeed in arousing a public indignation which revolutionizes the Senate altogether, the country may yet thank them for accomplishing by their folly what they had not sufficient wisdom to have accomplished.

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Day Unto Day Uttereth Speech

The silences of love are made significant by its speech; for, although what it has to utter can never be compassed by words, it must strive, by the compulsion of its passion, to give itself audible expression. Shakespeare failed of complete disclosure of himself because his spirit transcended all bounds of language, not because he did not test every resource of the art in which he worked. That Wagner never gave passion its last and uttermost abandon and ecstasy was due, not to his lack of endeavor, but to the immensity of the volume of emotion poured into the shallow channels of song. There is, in rare moments, a vibration, a cadence, a thrill, in a human voice which sets the imagination aflame and stirs the spirit in a sudden tumult; but the perfect note is never sounded, the last ravishing chord never struck. If life could make a full and ultimate record in any art or in all the arts, there would be an end to its immortality; it strives forever, and forever fails, to find a voice because its immortal content cannot be contained in mortal forms and shapes. So love, which is the soul of life, craves the full outpouring of its passion, and is forever baffled:

> . . . yet, do not grieve;
> She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,
> For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair!

But this divine stillness in which, as in the secrecy of the earth, the most beautiful and imperishable of all the forms of growth goes on, is constantly enriched by the interpretation of speech; for, being hidden in mystery, it thrives on words and comes to its own only when it is put into some kind of language. Thought must emerge from nebulous meditation and define itself in words before it can become part of any real mental process, and must pass on into some relation with action before it can become incorporate in character; in like manner, though love precedes speech and may strike deep into the nature without it, yet it cannot reach its farther boundaries nor fertilize the world until it declares itself. The fountain hidden in the breast of the earth may be full, but it cannot bring verdure to the field and set the brightness of flowers in the long stretches of grass unless it pour itself out lavishly. So love, though it be guarded by silence like some divinity in a shrine, must be celebrated with perpetual praise. Each worshiper has his own ritual, his own form of devotion; but upon all alike is laid the need and to all is given the joy of giving faith a voice and loyalty a form.

The deeper the sense of the inadequacy of words to contain what the spirit would pour into them, the deeper the stress for expression. In a vain endeavor to ease that pain which is part of all great faiths and passions, love uses a few words over and over like a rosary which runs through the fingers long before the need of prayer is appeased or its rapture spent. But in the fervor of a great passion these well-worn coins of speech are stamped with a new image and superscription. For love is a miracle, and when a miracle is wrought old things are made new:

> Say over again, and yet once over again,
> That thou dost love me. Though the word repeated
> Should seem "a cuckoo-song," as thou dost treat it,
> Remember, never to the hill or plain,
> Valley and wood, without her cuckoo-strain
> Comes the fresh Spring in all her green completed.
> Beloved, I, amid the darkness greeted
> By a doubtful spirit-voice, in that doubt's pain
> Cry, "Speak once more—thou lovest!" Who can fear
> Too many stars, though each in heaven shall roll,
> Too many flowers, though each shall crown the year?
> Say thou dost love me, love me, love me—toll
> The silver iterance!—only minding, Dear,
> To love me also in silence with thy soul.

In the countless dramas of love eyes have spoken when lips were dumb, and to those silent souls to whom both forms of speech have been denied there has been that language of service which is, if not the highest, certainly the sincerest, form of expression. To each his own dialect, but for all the need of speech; for without speech the silence of love is impoverished and becomes at last mere emptiness. There are hosts of those who

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love who fail in the terrible testing of time and tide because, having once spoken, they rest in a single expression and do not understand that love needs the daily ministry of speech and withers and perishes without it. If the freshness of the first emotion and the joy of the earliest devotion are to touch the long procession of the days with the romance of the golden hour in which love knows itself and is known, the fire must be rekindled morning and evening, and every hour must have its moment of remembrance. So precious is love, and, like all rare and beautiful things, so susceptible to care or the lack of it, that it must be guarded with perpetual thought and watched with tireless tenderness. It escapes when flowers are no longer at the windows and the hearth is left bare; and they who would keep this most wonderful gift of God within mortal habitations must honor it with scrupulous care and guard it with that vigilance of courtesy which is the last grace of chivalry.

Beautiful and sensitive as it is, there is nothing so hardy and indestructible as love when it is nourished by daily speech into full strength; time, that eats the heart out of so much joy and blights so much beauty at the roots, has no power over it; and death, which waits like a shadow beside every sunlit hour, is but a phantom of the night in its presence. Care and toil and bitter trial neither dismay nor exhaust it; it holds back from no hardship, evades no rack, flees from no anguish; it has laughed at locksmiths since the beginning of time. Heroic spirits quail, hearts sink with fear, and strength is overmatched; but this delicate and fragile spirit from heaven remains when all other possessions are wrecked and survives when all else has perished. And yet it dies when the daily word is not spoken and the hourly service rendered! For the supreme passion must hold the supreme place in a man's life; and when it is uncrowned and dethroned it leaves the place where it was once honored empty and desolate. And under all God's heavens there is no room so desolate as that from which love has withdrawn its shining presence.

Manners and Business

An English business man, connected with one of the most prominent houses in New York City, said not long since that it was painful to notice the difference in the manners of employees in English and American shops and offices. That difference every American notices when he returns from a trip abroad. Courtesy is no small part of the attractiveness of the foreign shops; it is, indeed, a very important element in business success. The impression has unfortunately gone abroad in this country among a certain class of young men that to be courteous is to be servile, and that a man shows his Americanism by abruptness, lack of deference, and the general attitude of indifference. If Americanism involves bad manners, then the complaint of Renan that the Americanizing of the modern world means the vulgarization of that world is well sustained.

There is, however, not the slightest connection between independence and self-respect, on the one hand, and rudeness and discourtesy, on the other. It is indisputable that the higher one ascends in business ranks the more definite becomes the claim for good manners on the part of employees. There are many leading concerns in this city, and in all parts of the country, who will not have a slovenly dressed or rude person in their employ. One of the greatest financiers who has appeared in American life insists on being surrounded by well-bred men, and will tolerate no others. If young men can be made to understand that lack of manners, instead of indicating strength of character, is an expression of ignorance, and that it stands in the way of success, they will no longer glory in it, but be eager to mend their ways. Probably as many men in this country owe their success to personal attractiveness as to business ability, and the road to promotion for hundreds of young men has lain through some act of courtesy, some thoughtfulness for another. One of the most responsible financiers in New York is in the habit of saying that he owes his good fortune in a business way

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to the fact that he once presented a member of the firm with a bouquet. An American manufacturer was overheard to say, in the courtyard of a charming hotel in Switzerland last summer, that he would gladly leave his check for ten thousand dollars in that place that morning if he could secure the equivalent in good manners to be sent to his factory in Newark; and he added that his foreman, as a rule, would a great deal rather swear than to say good-morning.

This is a young country, and it has many things to learn; among them the truth that the charm of life lies very largely in small things, and that good manners, which are the most agreeable way of treating one's fellows and being treated by them, add immensely to the value of life. Satisfaction does not consist in getting rich; it consists largely in what one gets day by day; we might all become incredibly rich and the country remain incredibly uninteresting and dull. It is the refinements of life that protect the most sacred relations and bring out their sweetness, and it is in these relations and in their sweetness that the most permanent joys are found. In a well-known letter to his sons, William, Earl of Bedford, said some things which ought to be posted in every commercial school and every business house in the country; for manners quite as much as character, talents, and ability have to do with success:

"Before you speak, let your mlnd be full of courtesy; the civility of the hat, a kind look, or a word from a person of honor has bought that service which money could not. And he that can gain or preserve a friend, and the opinion of civility, for the moving of the hat, or a gentle look, and will not, is sillily severe: spare not to spend that which costs nothing; be liberal of them, but be not prodigal, lest they become cheap. I remember Sir Francis Bacon calls behavior the garment of the mind; it is well resembled, and rightly expresses the behavior I would have in proportion to a garment. It must be fit, plain, and rich, useful and fashionable. I should not have advised you to such a regard of your outside, the most trifling part of man, did I not know how much the greatest part of the world is guided by it, and what notable advantages are gained thereby, even upon some very wise men, the request of an acceptable person being seldom, or at least unwillingly, denied."

❀

The Spectator

The Spectator had a call the other morning from a young man who is going out to South America to seek his fortune. The *Wanderlust* possessed him. His eyes snapped with anticipation; his head teemed with schemes; he breathed already the intoxicating breath of the tropics. Of what avail to oppose cold fact to this hot fancy? The Spectator swallowed down his rising objections and let the boy rant on. A quarter of a century seemed to have dropped from his own shoulders as he looked into that eager face. He saw himself again in his sanguine, self-willed youth, blind to difficulties, deaf to advice, setting out to wrest success from fortune upon the farther side of the equator.

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So the Spectator—the discreet Spectator—was once a fortune-hunter? Even so. When his years and his judgment were scarce out of their teens, there came to him an offer of a clerkship in a mercantile house in Rio de Janeiro. The salary was a princely one. Moreover, there was the chance to adventure upon a new life, and that in a land of boundless possibilities. What might not Yankee pluck and enterprise do in a land where Brazil-nuts lay spoiling on the ground, and mahogany and rosewood rotted in the forests, for want of energy to harvest them? So the Spectator set sail from Baltimore, in the good ship King Arthur—euphemism for the old coastwise tub which in those days made the run to Rio in thirty-three days.

❀

The Spectator's notion of Brazil was based upon a woodcut in a certain Modern Geography of his school-boy days. Before his inward eye there rose a vision of dank, sunless forests hung with tropical vinery and festooned with writhing anacondas, where tapirs rooted

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beneath the giant trees, monkeys swung from the swaying limbs, parrots flashed through the leafage, and jaguars and other wild beasts, undesignated, prowled through the tangled undergrowth. A single ray of light penetrated the jungle, falling upon masses of fabulous bloom, and in it danced a flock of butterflies, each as big as a good-sized bat. To this alluring picture the Spectator added a few more recently gathered details—perpetual sunshine, perpetual indolence, and a superabundance of luscious tropical fruits. It made altogether a prospect to fire the imagination of a clod.

❀

It was January when the King Arthur came to anchor in the harbor of Rio—January, and unbearably hot. On the advice of steamer friends, the Spectator hurried at once to Tijuca, a little mountain resort ten miles from Rio, that he might inure himself to the heat before beginning his work in the city. He reflected also that a week in the woods about Tijuca would give him a satisfying glimpse of the teeming animal life of the tropics. Woods there were in plenty, tropical in their wealth of parasites and splendid ferns; but more silent, empty woods it has rarely been the Spectator's fortune to encounter. Though he ventured far from the little hotel, he saw neither tapir nor jaguar nor anaconda, nor even so much as a parrot's feather or the whisk of a monkey's tail. As for bright-hued birds, they were not, as the Spectator had been led to expect, flashing continually through the happy air. Indeed, outside the taxidermists' shops in Rio, which flamed with jeweled plumage, the Spectator saw nothing more spectacular than a humming-bird during all his sojourn in Brazil.

❀

But for the butterflies he might have felt himself outrageously taken in. These, however, lived up to, or rather outdid, their reputation. Improbably big and improbably brilliant, they sailed nonchalantly about on their great burnished blue or scarlet or flame-colored wings, and allowed the Spectator, all unarmed as he was, to ensnare one or two. They made up partially for his disappointment about the recalcitrant beasts.

❀

It should not be supposed, however, that the Spectator saw nothing of the teeming life of the tropics. The first night he slept at Tijuca he left his boots by his bedside. Morning found them neatly unblacked by a horde of devastating baratas—a peculiarly objectionable variety of flying roach. The same strong-jawed gentry later on relieved him of the surface of the bindings of most of his favorite books. A butterfly caught with a borrowed net, and slain in a borrowed cyanide bottle, was left stiff and stark on the Spectator's table for the night. At sundown he was a splendid creature of metallic blue; at sun-up he was but a skeleton butterfly; the ants had found him and left of him nothing but his veins.

❀

This was not the worst. From the day of his landing mosquitoes and black flies marked the Spectator for their own, and before his week at Tijuca was over he was so bestung that his best friend might have been forgiven for passing him upon the street. When the mosquitoes were done with him—which was not until he crawled under his netting—the Brazilian flea took his turn. In Rio the flea is established as a fit subject for polite conversation. Indeed, he cannot be ignored, for he is everywhere. He haunts alike hovel and palace, with perhaps a predilection for the palace. Cleanliness will not banish him, for he is nowhere more at home than in the dampness of a newly washed house. The Spectator heard that a certain herb, called Santa Theresa, was obnoxious to the fleas, so he sent out for a bale of it. It came, and was strewn assiduously over the floor. It worked. The fleas abhorred it, and to escape it made the best of their way into the Spectator's mosquito-barred bed!

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Just as the Spectator was getting a little used to the scorching heat and the plague of insects, there came a shift of

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wind, with cloud, and a three days' rain. The temperature, without the slightest warning, tumbled forty degrees in a single night. The congealed Spectator warmly demanded fire. But there was no fire in the hotel, nor even so much as a chimney. In the little detached kitchen there was a cook-stove in which smoldered a few embers of wood, but even here no chimney, only a comfortless stovepipe. Moreover, the big black cook made the Spectator thoroughly aware that his room was better than his company. The other guests, swathed to the eyebrows in vast shawls, sat huddled up in speechless misery, and waited for the cold snap to be over. The Spectator, being shawlless, retired to the cold comfort of his bed. Such was his introduction to the delights of the tropics!

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Of course time brought him juster impressions. There came days of perpetual sunshine, days and weeks without a cloud, when the air was so clear that the Spectator could almost count the grass-blades on the distant islands in the harbor. There were no shadows on the mountain-sides, no half-tones in the landscape; and when at last the great hot sun dipped below the horizon, night dropped like a curtain, black and sudden. It was very contrary of him, no doubt, but no sooner had the Spectator grown accustomed to this perfect weather than he began to wish it imperfect. He called the broad sunshine garish, and longed in an ecstasy of homesickness for the soft gray shadows stealing over a Berkshire hillside, for the witchery of twilight, for the patter of rain on the roof. Again, when tropical fruits became his daily portion, he wearied of their strangeness and their bland insipidity. He would have given all the mangoes and alligator-pears, nay, even the creamy pineapples and superb oranges, for the privilege of setting his teeth in a tart and juicy northern apple.

❀

With the plant life of Rio it was much the same. The Spectator was prepared for luxuriance and gorgeous bloom, and the flowers came up to his expectation. Roses bloomed the whole year through; bignonias and scarlet poinsettias were common in all the gardens. As for heliotrope, the Spectator knew one particular plant which attained to the dignity of a bush, growing full four feet high and spreading a prodigal profusion of deep purple blooms. Yet the Spectator was peevishly discontented with Brazilian gardens. The Portuguese gardener, since in Rio grass costs a king's ransom, surrounds his roses with a glaring carpet of white sea-sand; envious ants snip and carve away at the glowing petals, and weeds, growing with truly tropical luxuriance, create a lavish but picturesque disorder. Worst of all, Brazilian taste demands that the flower-gardens be studded generously with low posts bearing globes of cheap red and blue glass! The Spectator will put up cheerfully with the unprodigal bloom of the green north.

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And now it is time to speak of that fortune the Spectator went out to amass. Alas! that was the fondest of his illusions and the soonest dashed. The princely salary, out of which he hoped to save a goodly nest-egg of capital—what of that? It went to buy him ill-fitting English shoes at ruinous prices; it went for whisk-brooms at three milreis (about a dollar and a half) apiece, for potatoes from Portugal, for apples from New York at two dollars the dozen, the same being speckled with decay and strongly flavored of bilge-water. In short, it went for the bread-and-butter things of life, for which he paid at the price of luxuries. That was one side of the shield. The Spectator had gone to Brazil with half-formed plans for introducing the Brazilians to American conveniences. A year's stay convinced him that the Brazilian is in love with inconvenience, that his business methods are not as our business methods, and that the American who wants to keep his temper had better not try to hurry the South.

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Reduction of Representation in the South[1]

By John B. Knox

President of the Late Constitutional Convention of Alabama

SINCE the late Presidential election the Southern people have been favored by the Northern press with a great deal of advice, accompanied in almost every instance with assurances of a deep interest in our welfare. It has been something like forty years since the Civil War ended. If it is ever to appear at all, it is time that some spirit of magnanimity towards the people of the South should begin to assert itself in the North. In the face of these kindly expressions and perhaps well-meant advice comes the proposition of Senator Platt, of New York, to reduce the South's representation in Congress. I suppose, of course, that his bill will be couched in general terms, and nominally apply to all the States, but we will not be misled in interpreting the real object of the measure.

This measure, no doubt, is framed, under the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, as a punishment to those Southern States which have undertaken suffrage reform. Most enlightened people in the North now admit that the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, and the reconstruction measures coincident thereto, whereby our former slaves were invested with the right of suffrage and placed in the control of the Governments of all the Southern States, was a mistake, and yet many of them do not hesitate to condemn in unmeasured terms the efforts of these States to relieve themselves, so far as they may in view of the limitations of the Federal Constitution, of the great disaster which this mistake inflicted upon them.

But, without regard to the partisan and implacable spirit which inspires this measure, the inquiry is pertinent as to whether the Southern States which it is proposed to punish have, in the new Constitutions which they have adopted, violated either the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Amendments of the Federal Constitution.

First, as to the Fourteenth Amendment. Mr. Blaine, in discussing this question, expresses the view that the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment seriously modified the effect and potency of the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment—the only section of the Fourteenth Amendment which relates to the reduction of representation. Under that section a State could exclude the negro, *qua* negro, from the right of suffrage, if willing to accept the penalty of the proportional loss of representation in Congress which the exclusion of the colored population from the basis of apportionment would entail. He says:

"When, therefore, the Nation, by subsequent change in its Constitution, declared that the State shall not exclude the negro from the right of suffrage, it neutralized and surrendered the contingent right before held, to exclude him from the basis of apportionment. Congress is thus plainly deprived by the Fifteenth Amendment of certain powers over representation in the South, which it previously possessed under the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. Before the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, if a State should exclude the negro from suffrage, the next step would be for Congress to exclude the negro from the basis of apportionment. After the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, if a State should exclude the negro from suffrage, the next step would be for the Supreme Court to declare that the act was unconstitutional, and, therefore, null and void. The essential and inestimable value of the Fourteenth Amendment still remains in the three other sections, and pre-eminently in the first section."

I know of no Southern State which has prescribed as a condition to suffrage any other than an educational or property qualification, and am unable to understand how any well-trained lawyer can reach the conclusion that a constitutional provision—whether adopted by

[1] Editorial comment will be found elsewhere.—THE EDITORS.

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a State in the South or in the North—prescribing an educational or property qualification can be considered as an abridgment of the privilege of suffrage within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. Judge Cooley, in his work entitled "The General Principles of Constitutional Law in the United States of America," in discussing the Fourteenth Amendment, says:

"To require the payment of capitation tax is no denial of suffrage; it is demanding only the preliminary performance of public duty, and may be classed, as may also presence at the polls, with registration, or the observance of any other preliminary to insure fairness and protect against fraud. Nor can it be said that to require ability to read is any denial of suffrage. To refuse to receive one's vote because he was born in some particular country rather than elsewhere, or because of his color, or because of any natural quality, or peculiarity, which it would be impossible for him to overcome, is plainly a denial of suffrage. But ability to read is something within the power of every man; it is not difficult to attain it, and it is no hardship to require it. On the contrary, the requirement only by indirection compels one to appropriate a personal benefit he might otherwise neglect. It denies to no man the suffrage, but the privilege is freely tendered to all, subject only to a condition that is beneficial in its performance and light in its burden."

There seems to be a misunderstanding in the minds of people generally as to the basis of representation in Congress. It is not apportioned upon the number of votes cast, but is based on the population in the States respectively. A study of the returns through a series of years would show that it frequently occurs, both in the North and in the South, that the absence of a contest reduces the number of votes, whereas a spirited contest brings out a full vote, often showing great disparity in the same locality under different conditions. This, in itself, would be sufficient to show how impracticable it would be to base representation upon the vote as actually cast.

Second, as to the Fifteenth Amendment. This Amendment, as has more than once been declared by the Supreme Court of the United States, does not confer the right to vote, but protects the negro from being discriminated against on account of his race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

At the formation of the Federal Government there was a party, headed by Edmund Randolph, which favored making the qualifications of citizenship the same in all the States; but Benjamin Franklin and others opposed it, on the ground that it was a subject on which the people were jealous, and it would not be well to excite their opposition by depriving some of them of the right to vote as to Federal officers, when the same citizen might have the right to vote for State officers. It was, therefore, determined, after full discussion, to leave the question of fixing the qualifications of voters to the States respectively, and the following provision was adopted and has remained unchanged as a part of the Federal Constitution:

> The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for the electors in the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

The same rule obtains with reference to the selection of Presidential electors, the whole question, by the terms of the Constitution and the action of the Convention, being left to the States, each of which was to "appoint in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress."

Now, the new Constitutions of the Southern States, and especially the new Constitution of the State of Alabama, with which I am more familiar, do not discriminate against the negro on account of his race, color, or previous condition of servitude, within the inhibition of the Fifteenth Amendment. The permanent provision now in force is not materially different from that of the State of Massachusetts, in that it prescribes that every citizen, whether white or black, who can read or write any

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clause of the Federal Constitution in the English language is entitled to vote. This provision was intended, and has the effect, to put the control of the Government in the hands of the intelligent and virtuous; but it is objected by our opponents that we, in the temporary plan, excepted certain classes of our citizens from the operation of the educational clause embodied in the permanent plan. I grant it. In doing so, what more did we do than did the State of Massachusetts? The election law of that State, as I understand it, provides that the voter must be able to read the Constitution of the Commonwealth in the English language, and to write his name, "except that no person who is prevented from reading and writing as aforesaid by physical disability, or who had the right to vote on the first day of May, in the year 1857, shall, if otherwise qualified, be deprived of the right to vote by reason of not being able to read or write."

The truth is that every statesman who proposes legislation for the benefit of his people must proceed along practical lines. If his measure is to be submitted for the ratification of the voters, it would be supreme folly for him to expect them to accept and approve a measure which, by its terms, proposes a qualification which would exclude them. Hence it is that every such measure, whether submitted for the ratification of voters in the South or in the North, must contain a saving clause which protects the rights of existing voters, or such a number of existing voters as will give reasonable promise of its acceptance. Hence the insertion of the saving clause in the Alabama Constitution which protects the right to vote of all who fought the battles of the country without regard to the army in which they enlisted, Federal or Confederate.

The charge made against us is that we adopted this constitutional provision for the purpose of excluding the negro. The true philosophy of the movement was to establish restricted suffrage, and to place the power of government in the hands of the intelligent and virtuous; and while any provision for restricted suffrage would exclude more negroes than white men, in its practical operation the Alabama provision, so far as the permanent plan is concerned, and the exaction of a poll tax as a condition to suffrage, so operates as to exclude not only a large mass of negro voters, but quite a number of white voters who do not feel sufficient interest in their own Government to contribute to the school fund the small amount exacted as a poll tax, and who are so indifferent to their own interests as that they fail to meet the provision of the Constitution which requires that any voter under the permanent plan shall be able to read and write any clause of the Constitution in the English language, although the free public schools of the State are open to them.

As stated by Judge Cooley, the right of suffrage is not a natural right, because it exists, where it is allowed to be exercised, only for the good of the State. To say that those whose participation in the affairs of the State would endanger and imperil the good of the State have, nevertheless, the right to participate, is not only folly in itself, but it is to set the individual above the State.

You will hear it frequently said that the provisions of the Southern Constitutions which protect the right of the worthy and intelligent negro to vote are not fairly enforced. We have but one case arising in this State which puts this question to the test. In the county of Limestone in this State a negro who had fought in the Union army claimed the right to register under what is commonly designated as the grandfather clause in the temporary plan of the new Constitution of Alabama. The right was denied by the registrars in that county, whereupon he appealed to the Circuit Court, under a provision of the Constitution authorizing such appeal without cost by any person whose right is denied. In that court his right was passed upon by a jury composed entirely of white men. The court and jury upheld his right to vote, and this right, upon an appeal prosecuted by the registrars in the name of the State, was sustained by the Supreme Court of Alabama.

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Sanitary and Medical Work in the Japanese Army

By Major Louis L. Seaman, M.D.

A CRISIS is at hand for the authorities of the United States to decide, a military question of the gravest importance; namely, whether the Medical Department of the American army shall remain in its present utterly deficient condition owing to lack of numbers, organization, and power to cope with the emergencies certain to arise in any great conflict, as was so humiliatingly proved in our late war with Spain, or whether it shall be reorganized upon a basis in keeping with the most advanced thought and science of the age.

In considering this subject, Congress cannot do better than take a wholesome lesson from the example Japan is now giving to the world, for I unhesitatingly assert that we are as far behind the Japanese in matters of military medical organization and sanitation as were the disciples of Confucius in the days of Kublai Khan.

The writer recently returned from the scene of conflict now raging in the Orient. He was led thither after a personal experience in Porto Rico and Cuba in the Spanish-American war in 1898 and the war in the Philippines in 1899–1900. In these countries he had seen two great armies largely invalided and decimated through the effects of a wretchedly inappropriate commissariat, while the great causes of mortality were ferments, toxins, and microbes rather than bullets. The death-rate among the men from these preventable causes was so appalling that he desired to see the results of a war in which the effects of powder and shell played at least an incidental part in the tragedy, and in which soldiers qualified for something besides admission to hospital wards.

He was astounded, as was the rest of the world, at the marvelous success of the Japanese, and set about to study the methods by which they had attained it. He found various reasons given for Japan's uninterrupted series of victories: courage and bravery, perfection of detail, a fanatical spirit of patriotism inspired by the devoted self-sacrifice of the entire people, being among the theories advanced; but, on deeper study, he saw that the real reason for Japan's achievements lay in her masterly preparation for war, a preparation the like of which has never been recorded in history. Japan is making war on strictly scientific principles; she is making it a national business. She is not experimenting with conditions that arose after the clash of arms, and already she has taught other nations profound and convincing lessons in many fields, the most impressive of which is that the normal condition of the soldier is health, and that those who die in war should die from wounds received on the firing line and not from preventable disease in quarters.

Ten years ago, at the conclusion of her war with China, Japan found herself in possession of Port Arthur and the Liaotung peninsula. This territory was permanently ceded to her by the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed in 1895. Later she was ousted from it by the concert of Russia, Germany, and France, England weakly acquiescing. Unable to cope with these allied powers, which ostensibly and hypocritically stood for the "territorial integrity of China," but really for their own cunningly laid plans to plunder China themselves, she was forced to relinquish the fruits of her victory and to accept instead a small monetary indemnity and the island of Formosa.

Right there modern statesmanship sprang into full existence in Japan. Robbed of her legitimate conquest, a great light dawned upon her. Her statesmen foresaw that not only would China be despoiled by the other nations, but that her own independence was

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imperiled, and that in time, if she did not resist, she would be reduced to a state of vassalage to the new occupant of Manchuria. She saw one paw of the Great White Bear already clutching Port Arthur, while the other was stealthily pushing its way down through Korea with claws extended ready to reach across the straits to Japan.

From that moment Japan began to prepare for war, not from motives of revenge—she put aside the memories of her trials and disappointments, except for their inspiration in battle—but for her very existence as a free and independent people. She prepared for a war that should not be a campaign of weeks, or months, but of years, if necessary. No detail, however insignificant, was overlooked. Her heart and soul were in the work, and the result was a preparation such as was never known before.

The most wonderful part of her wonderful military development I shall endeavor to describe in this article. Japan's student-statesmen had learned that, as a rule, five men die of disease in war to one from injury by missiles. She decided that this enormous waste was needless, and she set herself to correct it. She established the largest, richest, and best-equipped Red Cross hospital system in the world, a system now embracing more than twelve hundred thousand members and with stations in every part of the Empire. She equipped this system with hospital ships perfect in every detail, and rented them out as liners until they should be needed in war, the rental paying for their maintenance and also a handsome profit on the investment.

Long before the war began, the storerooms of the Society in Tokyo were crowded with wagon-loads of surgical dressing material, cots, tents, bedding, ambulances, and uniforms for nurses. In addition to making these preparations, the Society had been training nurses for military service, and in Tokyo, where its hospital has a capacity of two hundred and fifty beds, there were two hundred and sixty nurses to care for the patients.

All this was only a small part of the advance she made over other nations in the medical side of her preparations. Her students had absorbed the most progressive methods of the great medical schools of the Occident. They saw that, if their army was to be kept well in the field, preventable disease must be controlled. They industriously studied the germ theory, and *first of all made war upon bacteria.* They established institutes for the study of infectious diseases and for the manufacture of serum and lymph of various kinds. It is now acknowledged by the whole world that to Japan belongs the credit of some of the most valuable contributions to medical science in the field of bacteriology. To her we are indebted for the discovery of the germs of tetanus (lockjaw) and of the plague. Through the investigations of her students the best serum treatment of these diseases, and of diphtheria as well, has been secured. Her students are still busily at work in these fields in the expectation of overcoming dysentery, typhoid, leprosy, tuberculosis, erysipelas, and similar diseases. The results they have already attained place them in the front rank with rival investigators in similar fields in Europe and America.

Still further did these students go in their endeavor to eliminate unnecessary illness among the soldiers at the front. Japan soon realized that the crux of the situation lay in the character of the ration for the troops. She set about to master that problem, and she has gone a long way toward solving it. The ration is suited to climatic conditions, and consists largely of rice, compressed fish, soy, army biscuits, a few salted plums, tea—which necessitates the drinking of large quantities of boiled (sterilized) water—a few ounces of meat when obtainable, and some juicy, succulent pickles.

Striking proof of the value of this scientific study of the ration came long before the outbreak of the war. Dr. Takaki, as Medical Director of the Imperial Navy, accomplished one of the greatest tasks that ever confronted the medical authorities of any army. To him the navy is indebted for the eradication of that most terribly fatal disease, beri-beri, the former terror of Oriental armies. In the war with Korea forty-five per cent. of the Japanese troops had

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this disease, and the mortality was appalling. Now it is practically unknown in the navy. This eradication was brought about almost entirely through the scientific study of the navy ration and its reformation. As a result of the change in food, the proportion of meat and vegetables being regulated scientifically, a finer, more robust, red-blooded set of sailors does not exist than those of Japan's naval service to-day, and years have passed since a case of beri-beri has been seen on shipboard.

Having largely mastered the ration problem, the surgeons of the army, hundreds of whom had been trained in the institutes pertaining to the study of preventive medicine, as well as in hospitals where the most improved methods of antisepsis were in use, determined not to interfere with wounds on the battlefields, unless immediate death threatened, except by the application of first-aid dressings. Probing of wounds, which invites the danger of infection, or operations on the field, do not take place except in cases of great emergency, where they are absolutely necessary for the immediate saving of life. The hospital corps men who accompany the army are trained as nurses in the hospitals and are taught the application of first-aid methods in the most thorough and practical manner. In great emergencies they are sometimes capable of rendering efficient assistance before the arrival of the surgeon.

And so in every department preparatory to the actual making of war, Japan not only took the best ideas of the Western world, but improved on many of them for her own needs. She established her great base hospitals and developed her transport and commissary systems to the highest degree of perfection.

I wish the reader could have gone with me last summer through the great series of hospitals from Tokyo to Sasebo; could have visited the arsenals crowded with supplies; the enormous plants covering hundreds of acres given up to the making of munitions of war; the hospital ships; the ship-yards; the transports—all of which they allowed me to visit with the utmost freedom. Japan is the land of the sealed lip so far as the slightest revelation of her plans for making war is concerned, but she is wonderfully frank in disclosing her vast preparations for war.

The war came on. Immediately Japan exhibited a new departure in military strife. She discarded absolutely all the pomp and panoply of war. In the two weeks I spent in Tokyo I scarcely saw half a dozen men in uniform except in the office of the War Department. There was an absolute absence of the gold-laced, brass-buttoned ostentation and parade, the swashbuckling, spur-heeled bravado, so much to be seen in certain European capitals even in times of peace.

While I was in Tokyo Japan already had two armies in the field, a third was ready to leave for the front, and a fourth was being mobilized. Immense stores of supplies, food, coal, ammunition, to the amount of thousands upon thousands of tons, were being shipped from the ports of the Inland Sea through the Straits of Shimonoseki to the Gulf of Pechili; great fleets of transports were carrying troops to the Manchurian peninsula and up toward Dalny and Port Arthur; a vast and comprehensive system of manufacture to supply the needs of the soldiers was going on; but it was all done with such perfect organization and intelligent system that one had to search even in the Imperial capital—the very center of administrative activity—to discover any tangible evidence of the actual existence of war.

Japan made the Medical Department of her army of equal importance with that of the strictly fighting branch, and ranked its officers accordingly. The prevailing idea, as soon as hostilities began, was to prevent disease. The Japanese are the first to recognize the true value of an army medical corps. Care of the sick and wounded consumes but a small part of their time. The solution of the greater problem, preserving the health and fighting value of the army in the field, by *preventing* disease, by careful supervision of the smallest details of subsisting, clothing, and sheltering the units, is their first and most important duty. The capacity of Japan's

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medical men for detail is something phenomenal; nothing seems too small to escape their vigilance, or too tedious to weary their patience; and everywhere—in the field with scouts, or in the base hospitals at home—the one great prevailing idea is the prevention of disease. They appreciate the sentiment of Milton in "Samson Agonistes," when he says:

"What boots it at one gate to make defense,
And at another to let in the foe?"

The medical officer is omnipresent. You will find him in countless places where in an American or British army he has no place. He is as much in the front as in the rear. He is with the first screen of scouts with his microscope and chemicals, testing and labeling wells so that the army to follow shall drink no contaminated water. When the scouts reach a town, he immediately institutes a thorough examination of its sanitary condition, and if contagion or infection is found, he quarantines and places a guard around the dangerous district. Notices are posted so that the approaching column is warned, and no soldiers are billeted where danger exists.

Microscopic blood tests are made in all fever cases, and bacteriological experts, fully equipped, form part of the staff of every Divisional Headquarters. The medical officer also accompanies foraging parties, and, with the commissariat officers, samples the food, fruit, and vegetables sold by the natives along the line of march, long before the arrival of the army. If the food is tainted or the fruit overripe, or the water requires boiling, notice is posted to that effect; and such is the respect and discipline of every soldier, from commanding officer to the file in the ranks, that obedience to the order is absolute.

The medical officer is also found in camp, lecturing the men on sanitation and the hundred and one details of personal hygiene—how to cook and to eat, when not to drink or to bathe—even to the paring and cleaning of the fingernails to prevent danger from bacteria. Long before the outbreak of hostilities he was with the advance agents of the army, testing provisions that were being collected for troops that were to follow; and, as a consequence of all these precautions, he is *not* now found treating thousands of cases of intestinal diseases, and other contagion and fevers that follow improper subsistence and neglected sanitation—diseases that have brought more campaigns to disastrous terminations than the strategies of opposing generals or the bullets of their followers.

It is much too early to submit statistical proof, but from careful observation I venture to predict that the records of the Japanese hospitals will show a large reduction in the percentage of mortality from casualties, especially in penetrating wounds of the skull, chest, and abdomen, and injuries to osseous structures—indeed, of every variety of wounds, except perhaps those of the spinal cord, when compared with the statistics of former wars. Up to August 1, 9,862 cases had been received at the Reserve Hospital at Hiroshima; of these 6,636 were wounded. Of the entire number, up to that time, only 34 had died.

To July 20, the hospital ship Hakuai Maru alone, in her seven trips, brought 2,406 casualties from the front without losing a single case in transit. Up to July 1, 1,105 wounded—a large proportion of whom were stretcher cases—were received at the hospitals in Tokyo; none died, and all but one presented favorable prognoses. It is upon this and much additional ocular evidence that cannot be here tabulated that the prediction is based.

But it is in that far more terrible and pathetic class of losses, the needless sacrifice of four hundred lives to preventable disease for one hundred who die legitimately, that the most astounding reduction will be shown. If the testimony of those conversant with the facts can be accepted, supplemented by my own limited observations, the loss from preventable disease in the first six months of this terrible conflict will be but a fraction of one per cent. This, too, in a country notoriously unsanitary. Compare this with the fearful losses of the British from preventable disease in South Africa—or, worse, with our own losses in the Spanish-American War, where, in a campaign the actual hostili-

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ties of which lasted six weeks, the mortality from bullets and wounds was 268, while that from disease reached the appalling number of 3,862, or about 14 to 1.

Regardless of the outcome of the present terrible war, history will never again furnish a more convincing demonstration of the benefit of a medical, sanitary, and commissary department thoroughly organized, equipped, and empowered to overcome the silent foe.

Every death from preventable disease is an insult to the intelligence of the age. When it occurs in an army, where the units are compelled to submit to discipline, it becomes a governmental crime. Witness the French campaign in Madagascar in 1894, where, of the 15,000 men sent to the front, 29 were killed in action, and over 7,000 died *en route* to and from the scene, from preventable causes.

The Japanese do their killing, but they do it differently. They, too, have their tragedies, but they are legitimate tragedies of grim war. By the methods I have faintly described, their recognition of the importance of preventive medicine and sanitary and commissariat supervision, they have doubled the fighting efficiency of their army, and reduced to a minimum the loss from preventable disease.

Naturally, one asks, Were these results anticipated? As an answer, the statement of a distinguished Japanese officer, when discussing with me the subject of Russia's overwhelming numbers, is pertinent. "Yes," he said, "we are prepared for that. Russia may be able to place two million men in the field. We can furnish five hundred thousand. You know in every war four men die of disease for every one who falls from bullets. That will be the position of Russia in this war. We propose to eliminate disease as a factor. Every man who dies in our army must fall on the field of battle. In this way we shall neutralize the superiority of Russian numbers and stand on a comparatively equal footing."

Compare this with the attitude of Russian officials in the Far East, as stated by Captain Gunderson, Russian commander of the steamship Unison, wrecked off the Miaotau Islands last August as she was attempting to run the blockade at Port Arthur. I was on that wreck three days, in company with Captain Boyd, Tenth United States Cavalry, and Captain Gunderson repeatedly assured us that no one in Russia had any idea that Japan really intended war. As an evidence, he cited a conversation with his brother, who is the Russian Surgeon-General at Vladivostok, and who said: "If Russia expected war, I should be the first to know it, so my hospitals could be in readiness. As it is, I have never been so short of supplies as I am to-day. There will be no war." That night Admiral Togo torpedoed the Russian squadron and practically closed Port Arthur to the outside world.

The perfection of detail with which the Medical Department of the Japanese army is organized commands admiration. The nation is not rich, and the creation of this great establishment and its carefully studied work has been for the definite purpose that is now showing such magnificent results. Japan is the first country in the world to recognize that the greatest enemy in war is not the army of the invader, but a foe far more treacherous and dangerous—preventable disease found lurking in the camp—whose fatalities, as I have said before and will reiterate again and again, have, in every great war of history, numbered from four to twenty times as many victims as all the mines and bullets and shells of the invader. It is against this enemy that Japan has made her hardest fight and attained her most signal victories—victories that have kept her men in superb condition to respond to the call of their leaders and achieve the dashing, brilliant successes that have marked their triumphal progress from the Yalu to the walls of Mukden.

From the standpoint of a humanitarian and a lover of his kind, it was to me a positive delight to visit that great series of hospitals, from Tokyo to Sasebo, with their long wards filled to overflowing with wounded, suffering soldiers, the legitimate victims of war, their faces full of health and hope, despite their fearful wounds in the long, hard

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campaign of five or six months in Manchuria, their chief desire to know how soon they could rejoin their comrades, and to contrast them, in memory, with the vivid picture of the poor, wan, emaciated, and almost helpless faces that crowded the wards of our hospitals in Cuba and Porto Rico, in Tampa, Chattanooga, and Camp Alger and Montauk Point, in 1898, and in the Philippines in 1899–1900—the innocent, unwounded, and illegitimate victims of another conflict, which, in comparison with the one now waging, would be considered no more than a skirmish among outposts.

If wars are inevitable, and the slaughter of men must go on (and I firmly believe that wars are inevitable, and that most of them are ultimately beneficial), then let our men be killed legitimately, on the field, fighting for the stake at issue, not dropped by the wayside through preventable diseases, as they were in the Spanish-American War—fourteen hundred for every one hundred that died in action. It is for the fourteen hundred poor fellows who are sacrificed, never for the one hundred who fall gallantly fighting, that I offer my prayer.

Children in the Canning Industry

By Ernest Stagg Whitin

THE fact that the Child Labor Law "is not rigidly enforced" in New York State was not realized by many of the people until this statement was clearly made by Governor Higgins in his first message to the State Legislature. The public generally will agree with the Governor that "New York is in advance of most of the other States of the Union in the matter of legislation on the subject of Child Labor," and are justly proud of it; but they have felt reasonably sure that these humane laws were being enforced. In the popular mind, child labor has been associated with the cotton industries of the South, with the glass industries of the Middle States, and with the mining regions of Pennsylvania. In the Northern States it was thought that the laws were adequate, and that mechanical devices had been substituted for the children and found more profitable, when once the added expense of installing the machinery had been met. Now comes the statement that the law is not being enforced in a satisfactory way. Naturally, the question is asked, Where are there enough violations of the laws to make such an official statement justifiable, and under what conditions are the children employed? To answer this question would take a more thorough investigation of the labor conditions than the Commissioner of Labor has yet made public in any of his reports; but I doubt not that many individuals in the State know well the conditions as they exist in those industries in which they have been interested. Having visited many of the canning factories during the month of September, my impressions may not be uninteresting at the present time.

The canning industry is one of those few industries that are found in almost every district in the State. Being supplied, as these factories are, from the large farm districts, many are located near the farms, to save transportation of the raw product; but some are in the very heart of the big cities, where power is more accessible. Thus, violations of the Child Labor Law in these factories involve not one isolated district, but the whole State. And, furthermore, a lack of uniformity in the enforcement of the law would result in serious discrimination between the different sections of the State, and this would be far more unjust than the results of unfair inter-State competition as criticised by the Governor in his message.

That in this industry, which extends all over the State, such discrimination exists seems certain, if the law is enforced anywhere. In Syracuse I was told by the foreman of a large factory that it would cost him $50 for every young child found working in his fac-

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tory; and I learned from another source that the company had changed from peas to tomatoes to avoid the cost of installing necessary machinery. Yet you may imagine my surprise when I found, not a dozen blocks from this one, another factory where it was admitted that "wee little ones" worked without the interference of the law. Just how far it does interfere is hard to say, for, even in some of those factories in which the force of this discrimination is felt, machines have been introduced to do away with child labor. Would that all such factories were compelled by the uniform enforcement of the law to be equipped with machines!

Instead of the machines most of the factories are provided with long rows of benches on which sit the women surrounded by their children. Often there are as many as six hundred in all, working hard shelling the peas, breaking the beans, or husking the corn. Half are usually young children under fourteen years. In fact, the women bring all their little ones who are weaned. It is a common occurrence to see a child of four cooing to itself and shelling the peas with nimble fingers. "The little hands are just right for young peas, and they often handle them better than their mothers," was the verdict of one foreman. These children work from nine in the morning until nine at night—a good twelve hours. Their lunch is brought to them and eaten in the factory. On Saturdays work begins at ten o'clock, to allow the family to clean house before they come to the factory. These people are not in destitute circumstances. The women are for the most part of the type of our country housewife, and in many cases they are the wives and children of the neighboring farmers or of artisans employed in a near-by factory. Most of them are of good American stock. Even the few Italians are of a superior type and have fairly good homes. The foreman was not often cross to the children, when they did their work—and had comely mothers. But signs are posted everywhere that children who play around will be sent home, and the men in charge feel called upon to see that all are busy. In any case, the children and mothers are paid by the boxful, so that loss of time means loss of money, and this means less trimming on the mother's dress the following winter. For these are not starving people that engage in this work. If you talk with them, they will tell you that they are only working for a little more pin-money. It is easy work for the women, and then there is the excitement of the factory life. And as to the children, the parents know no better; and even when they get tired and have to remain at home sick, the mothers do not realize that the factory is responsible for the tired or sick child.

Very different is their condition from that of the ordinary Italian picker with whom they are often confused. These poor pickers are imported into the district and work in the open fields, picking the vegetables from the vines. Men, women, and children work together in the fields, and while many stagger under their burdens, and some faint under the heat of the sun, still their children are better with them than in the vile bunks in which they sleep. No dog-kennel is worse. In long barns, without partitions or accommodations of any kind, these people are huddled together, men, women, and children, until the stench makes life unendurable. To these people their work means health as well as bread. To deprive these children of the right to work with their parents would be cruel—even more cruel than the law that permits their families to live in such degradation; but these wretched people are not included under the factory law, nor are their children prevented from working by any law.

There is great danger in confusing these two very distinct types of vegetable pickers and workers—one in the factories, the other in the fields. In both cases the children work hard, but in the one case the children are in the open fields and are struggling as best they may to aid their homeless parents to gain the morrow's bread, while the children of the factory are constrained indoors and slave from morning far into the night for some luxury—they hardly know what. One sweet little lass of seven told me her earnings had been

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spent on a "beautiful doll carriage." It was surely bought at too dear a price.

But to whom is the profit in all this? Few may learn the true profit of the big concerns, but from the bookkeeper of one of the largest factories in the State I learned that it was a case of "get rich fast." How enjoyable must be the riches gained by the sweat of children! Yet these men know the law: that "no child under the age of fourteen years shall be employed, permitted, or suffered to work in or in connection with any factory in this State." This law is well known to them, for they fought bitterly its passage, but their foremen seem to be less well informed. I was told in many of the factories that the State factory inspectors "daren't say anything" against the children's working, and one foreman gave me a rather ludicrous description of the factory inspector looking down the rows of workers and conscientiously trying to count every head. After vainly trying to find how many curly-haired infants of four and five summers were hidden behind their stout mammas, he tacitly remarked, "These children are deuced hard to count." It was the attitude of these inspectors that was to me so "deuced hard" to explain, and made me conclude that they did not desire rigidly to enforce the law. The foremen, as a rule, are not a bad lot, and their work would prove far pleasanter to them if machinery were introduced into the factories. The foremen had apparently not secured information from the proper authorities as to the exact wording of the law. They cannot be expected to be more strict than the factory inspectors.

But why cannot we substitute machines to do the work of the little hands, as has been done again and again in many industries? We have seen that the children will not starve if this means of support is taken away, for they are not destitute. We have noted that some factories have been forced to put in machines and have found that they could make a profit against the unfair competition of even the employers of cheap child labor.

That the Governor has an intimate knowledge of the conditions existing in regard to child labor in the canning and other industries seems evident. His statement that "uniformity of legislation on the subject of labor is a matter which should be strongly urged by the State of New York in order that the condition of women and children may be ameliorated throughout the country" is in accordance with the broad spirit of the rest of the message, and shows a strong desire on the part of those who frame the policy of the State, not only to make the enforcement of the labor laws uniform throughout New York State, but even to lead other States to pass better laws and to better enforce them.

The Young Man of To-Day as a Social Worker

By Winifred Buck

MANY people still measure the sincerity of a man's work for the poor by the sacrifice he makes of his physical and mental well-being. "*We* do not live comfortably and æsthetically like your friends in the —— Settlement," the wife of an assistant in a church on the lower East Side once said to me, with an air of superior virtue. And yet, only a year later, this zealous woman retired to her father's home broken in health and spirits by poor food, bad air, and unvaried depression.

It appears to be the religious worker of a certain type who is interested in the amount of discomfort he can undergo himself; the settlement worker, on the other hand, usually believes pre-eminently in a normal existence. The physical life of the latter is maintained under healthy circumstances, his æsthetic tastes

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are gratified by the sometimes beautiful decorations of his adopted home, and he is not required to suppress a moderate taste for society. Sometimes he regards his work with an almost brutal matter-of-factness that shocks even those who have but few old-fashioned prejudices. "Look at these," said the very capable head of one of the smaller settlements one day, handing me some letters he had just received. They were all invitations to dine at the houses of well-known people. "These are some of the pleasant assets of this job of mine," he said, frankly. "I like to meet clever, amusing, or attractive people extremely. Now (I mean it without any lack of self-respect), if my wife and I, strangers as we are in New York, were living in a small flat uptown on my present tiny income, earned as a mediocre lawyer or business man, how many interesting people do you think we should have the chance to meet and talk with? I rejoice that a modest social importance attaches to me as a head worker, so that I may have opportunities for gratifying this taste."

It is this unsentimental, practical point of view that differentiates the typical social worker of to-day from his prototype of yesterday. It shocks us to hear a philanthropist frankly express interest in worldly pleasure. We wonder if St. Francis would have cared whether he was invited to dine at good houses or not. But let us remember for our comfort that, where one anæmic, over-spiritualized young man devoted himself to altruism a generation ago, a hundred well-balanced, red-blooded men work no less earnestly and efficiently for their fellow-beings in this age. There will always be too few zealots who love renunciation and self-sacrifice for their own sakes to accomplish alone the great task of uplifting the weak, the incapable, and the vicious, and the great thing, after all, is that these unfortunates should be helped as quickly and as thoroughly as possible. Any change of ideals that sends more workers to the field should be welcomed by those who hope for the speedy regeneration of humanity.

But, if people only tolerate a social worker who has frivolous moments and likes plenty to eat, what do they say to him who steadily rises in worldly importance until he becomes a politician—an assemblyman, let us say, a civil service commissioner, or a mayor's secretary? "We know now that all the time he was *ambitious*," they say, sadly, with the look of having seen at last the feet of clay.

These critics are always grumbling at the inferior class of young men who go into politics, and yet, when a man of unblemished character, possessing first-hand knowledge of the needs of the poor, is appointed from a settlement to public office, they neither welcome him as the right kind of man for political life, nor credit him with having been disinterested in his previous calling. It is easy to account for their attitude. Politics has such a bad name that no one believes a man can go into it for any motive but self-aggrandizement or money-making. Besides this, few people realize that some (not all, alas!) settlement and other social workers have growing intellects and perfecting abilities, and that they, without losing their early humanitarian motives, naturally desire larger and more complex fields for the exercise of their powers.

Personally, I feel that an incorruptible political office-holder with intelligence and energy has opportunities of being the greatest of philanthropists, and I think all social workers who have gone into politics have held the same opinion. We should judge them by their deeds. For example, it is chiefly owing to one of these men—first a resident of a well-known settlement and then an Assemblyman at Albany—that New York State is no longer disgraced by the brutal sport of live pigeon shooting. This cruel and unmanly pastime was the favorite in the young Assemblyman's native town, and so strong was the feeling against him when he started to champion the anti-pigeon-shooting bill that even his life-long friends and acquaintances treated him with bitter resentment. Quite undaunted, however, he pushed his bill through the Legislature, and now boys and girls can no longer learn to regard unmoved the slow death from wounds or starvation of birds who have had the

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misfortune to escape instant destruction at the traps.

The thousands of respectable people who have enjoyed an evening on the reformed Coney Island probably do not know how much of their pleasure they owe to an ex-settlement worker who, as head of the Bureau of Licenses (under Mayor Low), personally examined all shows and exhibitions and refused to license those which were "fake" or disreputable. This same man, in his official capacity, gathered evidence which indicated that twenty employment agencies in this city were permitting, and profiting by, the engagement from them of innocent young girls by disorderly houses. Through his instrumentality the proprietors of two of these agencies were sent to State's prison, and three more were driven out of business; but the extremely difficult task of securing sufficient evidence to convict or even indict the remaining fifteen was not completed when the whole city administration was turned down at the polls. (It may be remarked parenthetically that the present incumbent of the Bureau of Licenses has done nothing to follow up this branch of the work inaugurated by his predecessor.)

Do not such admirable deeds as these justify the sincerity of the "ambitious" settlement workers?

A curious type of social reformer—one who would be an anomaly in any age—is the man whose whole intellect counsels worldly wisdom and judicious hardness, and yet whose pitiful heart impels him to a course of reckless self-abnegation. A young man of this type devoted himself for some years to helping the boy criminals of New York. "I have no use for freak or crank or long-haired reformers," he used to say in the beginning of his career. "I go into society as often as I can, to keep from getting into a rut. It is time that real men of the world, in the best sense of the term, went into this work." He used to say, too, "To be a successful worker among boys, one must be like a diamond. One must have as many sides to his nature as a diamond has facets. One must be *hard* as a diamond."

At first his duties were not too onerous, for he had relations with only a few boys, and his rooms, on the lower East Side, were comfortable. But every year that passed added a hundred or more young criminals to the list of those who called the reformer their only friend; and as he never lost sight of any one who had ever sought his aid, he soon had accumulated an appalling number of protégés. After two or three years of this life he had to cut himself off entirely from his friends uptown and the change they might have given to the current of his thoughts. "I am sorry I cannot accept. John Doe comes out of the penitentiary that day, and everything depends on my getting hold of him before his old gang does," was the common answer received to all invitations at that time. No appeal was turned away, no effort was made to reduce the work to poor human limitations. Soon John Does were coming out of prison every day; and at any hour—at two or three o'clock in the morning—they could count on shelter, food, and a wise word from their friend.

The inevitable collapse occurred at last, and it was found that, in order to save money for his boys, the young reformer had been living for several months on bread and tea. After a short rest he went back to work, but this time he pawned his overcoat (during the coldest week of the year), with the natural result. The third attack of illness, but a short time ago, has, it is feared, seriously incapacitated a man who might have been one of New York's most useful citizens.

Those who do not know the average social worker may think it strange that this young reformer was left by his friends to struggle alone with such an overwhelming task, but old habitués of the philanthropic world know very well that he, like many of his class and profession, could neither lead others nor himself act under orders.

The man who has done more to give playgrounds and open-air gymnasiums to New York than all the other people together whose names have appeared as promoters of these much-needed places of recreation is another example of a strongly individualistic tempera-

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ment. "Don't work too hard on that new playground committee of Mr. ——'s," I said to a friend the other day. "There is no danger," she answered, laughing. "The chairman's sole duty is to call our meetings to order; Mr. ——'s ideas, plans, and policy control and guide the committee. The secretary writes the minutes, but Mr. —— composes all the letters and press notices. We have a treasurer, but Mr. —— raises most of the money and personally lays out every cent of it. He is the only active member on each and all of the sub-committees. He not only does the head work, but the leg and hand work of the entire organization. He can scarcely bear to let the painter paint the new benches in his latest playground."

This very un-co-operative Mr. —— is a man of independent means, of fine education, rugged health, rather irascible temper, and optimistic temperament. He has lived for many years in a room or two on the lower East Side, where he is much beloved and where he has devoted himself to the study of social conditions and to the furthering of social reforms.

A social worker of another type, and one that is as yet rather rare, is the young man of great wealth and good social position who reacts violently against his own class, and who finds among the poor that beauty of character which appears to him to be lacking on Fifth Avenue. This man is almost always an admirer if not a follower of Tolstoy. He believes that the upper classes would do better to copy than to teach the lower classes. He can prove to you that all the defects of the lower classes are due to their oppression by the rich. He votes for Socialists or Populists or any political candidate who talks feelingly of the wrongs of the workingman.

While this renegade from the ranks of the "upper ten" may do some useful and even tangible philanthropic odd jobs in the course of his residence in the slums, he rarely accomplishes any work that is visible, for he lives a great deal in the world of his own imagination and is quite content to be merely "an influence."

As the missionary burns to carry the Word to the island inhabited by the hungriest cannibals, so the young reformer from beyond the Wabash longs to bring the enlightenment of the West to darkest New York. It is still believed in many cities that in everything pertaining to the higher life New York is dead and indifferent. The story is told of a gentleman, now much respected, who came about six years ago to New York from, let us say, Chicago (where the idea of our backwardness is deep-rooted), to take charge of an organization which need not be named. He was consumed with zeal to touch the higher nature of the metropolitan city. He looked about him for a week, then convoked his councilors and unfolded to them his plan, which was to give to this mind-hungry people a course of free lectures!![1]

If all the young Western reformers who now look with yearning eyes toward their benighted brethren in New York would remember this advice, it would be for their advantage. Don't come to New York unless you have something *new* to tell her. Don't come to New York unless you will study her before you try to teach her. Don't come to New York if you are not sincere. You can be all kinds of a crank, but you must be honest. Don't be mistaken by the welcome New York gives you. She welcomes every one, but unless you have originality, modesty, and honesty she will turn her back upon you in the end.

Connected with every settlement and so-called institutional church are a number of young business or professional men who give an evening or two each week to running a little club or class of men or boys. I do not think these men, as a rule, have any profound knowledge of sociology, or any very scientific ideas in regard to reform or education, but they are undoubtedly bringing much happiness into dark lives, they are certainly keeping a great many boys out of temptation if they are not fortifying them

[1] During that year 1898, 1,923 free lectures were given under the auspices of the Board of Education in Manhattan, besides which courses of free lectures were given at Cooper Institute, the various Young Men's Christian Associations of the city, the settlements, and in connection with all the woman's clubs and societies, and many of the churches. New courses, therefore, were scarcely a crying need of the town even as long ago as 1898.

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to resist it, and they are hastening the day when all classes shall understand one another better than they do now.

Some excellent work has been done on the East Side by young men who, as boys, had enjoyed the advantages of the settlement, and who, in their maturity, felt a sense of responsibility about passing on to others the benefits they had themselves received. Some of these young fellows even went so far as to start, and to run for some time, a settlement of their own. At the present moment a club of boys, averaging perhaps sixteen years of age, have adopted as their object the assisting of the settlement resident workers in their schemes and investigations. They have given proof of the sincerity of their purpose on numerous occasions. For an instance of the kind of work they do, they distributed several thousand leaflets of instructions addressed to the unfortunate inhabitants of the so-called "lung block," and personally explained the meaning and purpose of the leaflet to the head of each family.

Indeed, it seems to me that the highest—the most truly democratic—ideal that a settlement can put before its beneficiaries is that they shall, as soon as they have sufficient capability, remove themselves from the class which always receives, and take their places in a justly considered higher class—the class which gives.

Statistics are so incomplete or so widely scattered that it is impossible to sum up accurately all that has been accomplished in the last fifteen years by young men who have worked for better social conditions in this city. Then, too, it must be remembered that, except in such specific instances as those recorded above, most reforms have been brought about, not by men alone, but by the co-operation of both sexes. The two great philanthropic[1] organizations of to-day are the settlement and the woman's society, and in the former (which alone need be considered here) men and women work together, and are practically of equal efficiency.

There are forty settlements in Manhattan to-day; fifteen years ago there was but one. Each settlement introduces itself to its neighborhood through its library, penny bank, gymnasium, boys' and girls' clubs and classes—the "simples of reform," as they have been called. Next, it leads in making local improvements. It plants a tree, it petitions for asphalt on the street. It draws around itself the best buildings that are to go up in the district. One of the new settlements avows this object: "To make —— Street one of the most desirable streets in New York to live in" —an ideal which is not as impracticable as might appear. Another settlement, which started fifteen years ago, chose a neighborhood which was then tumble-down and inaccessible. Now, within a block or two of it are a new Carnegie library, a new synagogue, a very fine public school, a Mills hotel, the magnificent new boulevard which approaches the Williamsburg Bridge, three trolley lines, the elevated road, and the subway.

When the settlement has gained intimate knowledge of the needs of the poor, it bends its energies to securing suitable legislation for their benefit. The recent tenement-house law, which forbids building any more of the unhealthy fire-traps which used to serve as homes, and which compels owners to remodel or destroy their worst rookeries, was enacted largely through the efforts of settlement workers, as was also the law which provides for the yearly appropriation by the city of $1,000,000 for making small parks, and the law which now permits the Board of Education to use the public schools for purposes of recreation as well as instruction.[1]

Perhaps, after all, the most important work done by the settlement is its education of the wealthier classes. From five to twenty picked young men or women

[1] The word philanthropy is used here in the sense of that force which makes permanently better conditions of living, through legislation, education, or construction. Charity, on the other hand, seeks rather to cure the results of evil conditions of living. Charitable and religious work has been excluded from discussion in this article.

[1] Last year twenty-three public schools were kept open every evening throughout the winter, and several thousand boys and girls over fourteen were entertained in them with basketball, gymnastics, checkers, ping-pong, picture-books, dancing, and club meetings. During the summer an even larger number of schools were open in the afternoon for games and light manual instruction.

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actually live in the settlement, a staff of perhaps fifty volunteer non-resident workers give one night or several to working there, while many hundreds of individuals contribute to its support. Through annual reports, meetings, or by actual experience, all these people are kept in touch and sympathy with the results of the most progressive social investigations and schemes of the day.

It seems to me to be one of the most hopeful signs of modern times that the acquirement of "the settlement point of view" should now be considered by so many people to give the finishing touch to the education of the university graduate, even if he does not intend to become a professional social worker. Every year an increasingly large number of young men go into residence at a settlement immediately after graduating, who find it as natural to do so at their age as to make a tour of Europe. As business men whose dealings will be largely with the laboring classes; as broad-minded, cultivated gentlemen, interested in all the questions of the day; as men of heart and justice who desire to understand if it cannot be their privilege to help their fellow-men; as citizens who, by their votes, must help to decide many political issues vitally affecting the workingman, they realize the necessity of actual residence among those classes separated from them by so many differences in experience and condition.

"The Washington Grafters"

By John Gilmer Speed

LAST summer I happened to be walking in Lafayette Square, Washington, at that hour in the afternoon when work in the great Department offices of the Government ceases. An army of men and women poured out of the great buildings, and where there was solitude only a few moments before, there were now crowds hurrying along. There were old men and young, gray-haired women and laughing girls. Some, both men and women, were shabby in attire; others in all degrees of costume, even to that top notch which fashionables designate as "smartness." My companion remarked, as the dismissed clerks hurried along: "This is the National army of grafters." Asked what he meant, he said that these men and women, in most instances, had secured their places by political influence, and retained them by the same power; that the majority were incompetent, a great minority dishonest, and not a baker's dozen independent enough to disclose dishonesty in those above them in place. According to him, all the departments of the Government were honeycombed with "graft," and the results of civil service reform had been next to nothing, filling the places with merely spineless creatures, who, when honest in their own acts, lacked the strength of character to speak when they detected dishonesty in others.

This was rather a staggerer to me, as I had just had a personal experience with one of the departments, and had been impressed with the idea that the officials, from bureau chiefs to mere copying clerks, were particularly vigilant, and looked after the Government's interests very zealously. Then I had always been an advocate of the Civil Service law, though I never went so far as some and believed that this law was a panacea and a cure-all of the Nation's ills. But the robberies in the Post-Office Department were fresh in my mind, and I feared that my cynical companion was right, and that the Government was being cheated by the very men and women who were paid to serve it. The thoughts I took back to my hotel were not pleasant, and even the Grand Army button that so many of the older Department clerks wore did not seem as much a badge of honor as formerly.

At my hotel I picked up a popular magazine that was out that very day. In it I read an article by William Allen White called "Roosevelt and the Postal

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Frauds." Speaking of Washington, Mr. White said: "It is the hot-house of petty grafting. Of the thirty-four thousand office-holders in the town, not five hundred look upon their offices as sacred trusts to the people. Anything which the mass of these Washington office-holders can get out of the Government is regarded by public opinion among them as clear gain, whether it be an hour's time or a railroad pass for betraying the Government's interest in matters under their care. The man who is making 'easy money' off the Government—if he is not actually taking money out of the till—is looked up to with a kind of envious respect." Here was a sweeping indictment of more than thirty-three thousand five hundred of the servants of the Government, of the very servants, indeed, who overlook and supervise the operations of the Government throughout the whole country. If this indictment could stand, if these charges were righteous, then the Federal Government was surely in a bad, bad way. What right had we to criticise Russian civilization and Russian dishonesty if we, right here at home, were as bad as Mr. White charged, as bad as my companion of the afternoon had freely declared?

My own little experience, of which something anon, gave me a slight hope to believe that the declarations of my companion of the afternoon were the exaggerations of a cynic and that Mr. White's charges were the license of a picturesque writer who had a piece to construct and wished to make it very strong in every part. This was a very slight hope, for it is warm and "mosquitory" in Washington in August, and it is easier than not to be blue about both present and future. At dinner that evening I met a friend who had had long and frequent experiences with various departments of the Government, and about whose personal honesty and general high-mindedness I did not have the vestige of a doubt. To this experienced man I told what I had heard and what I had read. For a moment, this man, who had held field rank in two wars of the country, but preferred to retire to private life when hostilities had ceased, smiled pleasantly as though he had encountered an old and often-heard joke; then his face became serious and he said:

"These are libels, and stupid libels at that. If what you have heard were true, we should go to smash in less than ten years. There are, of course, incompetent men and women in the Departments, and doubtless there are some who are mildly dishonest. Probably there are others who would be actively, violently dishonest if they had the chance. Some do steal, and these are caught sooner or later, according to their skill in covering their dishonesty; but all are caught. Each Department is like a great machine every part of which must run in harmony with every other part. One small part may go wrong for a while, but when the work of that part becomes essential to the harmony of the whole, the detection of the wrong part is absolutely inevitable. The system of balances and checks used in the auditing departments of the Government is such that fraud is absolutely impossible, unless the conspiracy to defraud embraces every one, high and low, in the whole Department. Your friend Mr. White intimates that such a fraud is possible, for he says that not more than one and one-half per cent. of the Washington office-holders are even indifferently honest. I do not believe that Mr. White realized what he was saying. Moreover, I do not believe that he knows the methods of work in the Departments well enough to make the charge that he does and deserve that it should carry any weight. I have no doubt in my own mind that of all the money that is spent by the Government for all purposes, a great percentage, say twenty per cent., is spent to prevent frauds on the Government. That is a large price, but surely it pays in the end, for it not only prevents fraud, but it discourages temptation.

"If these office-holders," continued the General, "were practically all grafters and dead beats, how in the world would the affairs of the Government ever be conducted? As it is, these affairs are conducted quickly, smoothly, accurately. Let any man, however humble, write to a Department on real

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business, and I will engage that his letter will be attended to as quickly and as thoroughly as by any mercantile house in the country. And the citizen is treated with just as much courtesy as he would be if he were trying to buy a bill of goods for cash. This talk of graft in the Departments is dreadfully exaggerated. Now and then there are conspiracies such as that in the Post-Office. But these are discovered and the offenders brought to judgment. And, by the way, every man implicated in those frauds was a political appointment; not one secured his place through the Civil Service machinery. Conspiracies are also found in private business houses and in corporations. I tell you, men are honest or dishonest because they are so, and not because they are in office or out of office. As a matter of fact, the men among the Department clerks who really take an interest in their work average just as high as they average in any large business concern. There are those who take one place, and, lacking capacity or ambition, or both, stay there always and never rise. There are others just the opposite. The same qualities which make a man rise in any of the Departments would make him rise in a bank or in a railway office. The fellow with intelligence and with initiative and industry is sure to be advanced if he also has tact and knows when not to 'butt in.' Why, my dear sir, some of the best, most cultivated, and most intellectual men and women in the country are among those who are so sweepingly and scornfully spoken of as grafters. Instead of the grafters being ninety-eight and a half per cent. of the whole, I think they may be more nearly embraced in one and a half per cent. And this is from one who knows."

Now as to my own modest experience, to which reference has been made. Last spring I was asked by the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department to select and purchase a lot of horses and mares that were to be sent to the Philippines for breeding purposes. These horses were selected in New York, New England, Kentucky, and Missouri, and, moreover, they cost in the aggregate a very pretty sum. I dealt with various classes of men, who represented, I fancy, pretty accurately the various American types of men, from the wealthy breeder of fine stock to the mere every-day horse-trader with one nag to dispose of. From the beginning to the end of the commission there was never the shadow of an improper suggestion made me, except once; and that once, singularly enough, was in regard to the very first horse I bought. I had heard of this horse, and wrote to the owner asking the price. He sent me the price, and asked me to look at the horse. He pleased me, and I bought him at the price given without haggling in the least. All was serene till the owner learned for what purpose the horse was to be used. Then he waxed wroth and declared that for such purpose the horse was worth three times what he had been sold at. He asked for a raise, and then suggested a division of the raise. Now this was a man who lived where tactics and practices similar to those we have been in the habit of attributing to Tammany Hall were the usual and habitual thing. He did not know he was doing anything wrong, and when I rebuked him with indignant heat he acted as though his feelings had been hurt. He was merely ignorant—ignorant as that young foreign lawyer who, in a negotiation with the Government, went boldly to the brother of the then President of the United States and offered him a retainer.

This was the single improper suggestion, and the commission was not ended until I had put three trains loaded with horses into the Government corrals at San Francisco for embarkation on a transport for Manila. Now, in buying these horses, I had to buy very many kinds of supplies and employ various kinds of men; and in transporting them I had to deal with many railroads and express companies. I was delighted with the absolutely open and above-board way in which everything was done. But when the accounts came to be audited! No more courteous men live than those in the disbursing division of the Bureau of Insular Affairs. But they certainly "want to know," which is a Yankee characteristic, and therefore

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not out of place in the official life of the capital city. They not only wanted to know about the thousand dollars spent here and there, but they were just as particular about the forty or fifty cents spent on a railway trip. Nothing escaped their Argus eyes, nothing either big or small. And if it had, there were other eyes in the auditing department to discover and pounce upon any disbursements made improperly or without authority. The thoroughness of the system struck me as admirable, and the painstaking cheerfulness with which it was carried out was a lesson to one to whom details have always been a dreariness.

When I had reached New York, I told my story and repeated the remarks of the General to a publisher of note. That gentleman said he believed with the General, and thought that no price was too high to insure honesty among employees. "We employed," he said, "an expert to originate a system of checks in our accounts that could not be beaten. It worked splendidly, because no one tried to beat it. But a little while ago a youth of nineteen, just from school and with no business experience, beat the system for five hundred dollars and was undetected for six weeks. The system won in the end, but I am afraid it is a trifle liberal in some way; so we are having it revised. Put temptation out of reach by making detection inevitable is my idea in private as well as public business."

Adam Smith[1]

THE publication of Mr. Francis W. Hirst's biographical and interpretative memoir of Adam Smith serves well to remind students of the great economist that Smith had a human as well as a scholastic side, a fact too often lost to sight in the abundance of critical literature treating of his work. Indeed, so lightly has the career of this founder of a science been touched upon by his numerous commentators that it is by no means easy to think of Adam Smith the man. "Lives" of him have been singularly few. Dugald Stewart's sympathetic study remained virtually alone in its glory for almost a century, when Mr. Rae's exhaustive work appeared, a monument of laborious research. Further light was shed both on his career and on his work by the issuance, a year later, of Professor Cannan's edition of the lost lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue, and Arms, so strangely recovered after the lapse of more than a hundred years, and important as affording a clear idea of the genesis of the "Wealth of Nations." Mr. Hirst's monograph, although not deficient in originality, is necessarily largely a digest of these the best of its predecessors. Patient culling of fugitive sources of information is also apparent, however, and as a conscientious and luminous account of the famous Scotchman it should be welcomed by all desirous of obtaining an intelligent idea of the factors shaping his view of life and the world.

Mr. Hirst effectually disposes of any notion that Smith was a closet economist or a theorist unable to effect practical adjustments in the affairs of everyday life. He was practical enough to enjoy a handsome competence for many years, and to be looked upon in his old age as one of the richest men in Edinburgh. Born in 1723, in the "lang toun" of Kirkcaldy, he was educated at the grammar school of his birthplace, at the University of Glasgow, and at Oxford. At Glasgow he studied under the unorthodox Hutcheson, from whom "he heard that fruitful formula which his own philosophy was to interpret and develop, 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number,'" and whose influence left an abiding impression on his spiritual as well as intellectual nature. By Hutcheson he was introduced to the writings of his aftertime most intimate friend, the philosopher David Hume; his first literary endeavor, curiously enough, being an analysis of Hume's

[1] *Adam Smith*. By Francis W. Hirst. (English Men of Letters Series.) The Macmillan Co., New York.

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"Treatise of Human Nature," executed at Hutcheson's request, and so well done that Hume had it printed at London. Smith was then but seventeen, of a by no means robust constitution, hampered by the absent-mindedness that endured through life, but popular with his fellow-students. He seems to have enjoyed to a rare degree the faculty of making friends, the one place where he found himself friendless being Oxford. Thither he had journeyed as a "Snell Exhibitioner," being one of eight Scotch undergraduates in residence at Balliol. "Their peculiarities of manner and dialect," observes Mr. Hirst, "marked them off from the rest of the college, and they were treated as foreigners. Their relations with the authorities were unpleasant." Smith's relations with the authorities must have been particularly unpleasant, for the discovery in his possession of a copy of Hume's "godless work" aroused a pretty storm. To his experiences at Oxford the biographer attributes the cutting references in the "Wealth of Nations" to the "sham lecture" of the universities of the period. At Oxford other material for the future masterpiece was gathered in the long walks Smith took through the surrounding country, several of his illustrations in the "Wealth of Nations" showing that as a collegian he possessed and exercised the observational ability astonishing in one so absent-minded. An immediate and important result of his English sojourn was the abandonment of the clerical career for which he had been intended, and the determination "to return to his own country and to limit his ambition to the uncertain prospect of obtaining, in time, some one of the moderate preferments to which literary attainments led in Scotland."

His opportunity came when Oswald drew him to the attention of Lord Kames, who was then busily engaged in importing English literature with English plows into the Land of Heather. Finding that Smith had acquired the English accent, he invited him to deliver some lectures in Edinburgh, not on philosophy or economics, but on the prose and poetry of England. The lectures, mainly eulogies of Pope, Dryden, and Gray, proved so popular that they were repeated the following two winters. Some years later they were also given at Glasgow, "and Boswell, who attended them in 1759, told Johnson that Smith had condemned blank verse. Johnson was delighted, and cried out: 'Sir, I was once in company with Smith and we did not take to each other, but had I known that he loved rhyme as much as you tell me he does, I should have hugged him.' One cannot help wondering," adds Mr. Hirst, in retelling this anecdote, "what would have been said if Boswell had repeated another of our author's critical opinions, that Johnson was, 'of all writers, ancient and modern, the one who kept off the greatest distance from common sense.'"

Smith's natural bent, as may be imagined, was not for poetry, and it is by no means surprising that he should have contrived to add to his lectures on literature a course on political economy. These lectures proved that he could be at once learned and popular, and paved the way for his appointment to the chair of Logic at Glasgow, followed soon after by his transference to the chair of Ethics, which he occupied for upward of twelve years. This transfer Mr. Hirst considers to be "perhaps the most important event of his life. For a temperament like his, so prone to study and reflection, so averse to the toil of the pen, required some constant external stimulus, some congenial inducement, to undertake the task of exposition. His gifts might have remained idle, his talents buried, had not the warm and sympathetic atmosphere of a full, eager, and admiring class-room set his tongue and his more reluctant pen in motion." Smith's activities were far from being confined to class-room work and the production of the "Theory of Moral Sentiments," which won him instant recognition in the world of thought. He "audited accounts, inspected drains and hedges, examined encroachments on college land, and served as college quæstor or treasurer, with the management of the library funds for the last six years of his professorship. He was Dean of Faculty from 1760 to 1762, when he was appointed Vice-Rector. . . . He went fre-

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quently to Edinburgh, and at least once to London, on college business." All of which leads Mr. Hirst to discredit, and with reason, the remark reported by Robert Chambers: "It is strange that a man who wrote so well on exchange and barter had to get a friend to buy his horse-corn for him." Socially, too, his Glasgow career refutes any idea that Adam Smith looked on life from a distance. A year after his arrival he founded the Literary Society of Glasgow, which numbered among its members Hume, Dalrymple, Callander, and Foulis; he belonged to a "tavern club," over which Simson, the celebrated editor of Euclid, presided, a convivial organization with a weakness for whist, at which, however, Smith proved an indifferent partner. "If an idea came to him in the middle of the game, he would renounce or neglect to call." Joseph Black, the founder of modern chemistry, and James Watt, of steam-engine fame, sat about the same fireside with Smith in these evenings of relaxation. With Black and Foulis, Smith started an "Academy of Design," probably the first of its kind in Great Britain. In Edinburgh, with which he maintained a close connection, he was a founder of the Select Society, an institution intended, as Stewart tells us, "partly for philosophical inquiry and partly for the improvement of the members in public speaking." Another Edinburgh organization to which he belonged was the oddly named Poker Club, a society for the stirring up of public opinion. However he may have enjoyed retirement and solitude, Smith assuredly could not be called a recluse in those days.

Still less of a recluse and more of a man of the world did he become as a result of his three years' tour of Europe in the capacity of tutor to the young Duke of Buccleuch, Charles Townshend's stepson. With Townshend, who had been attracted to him by the "Theory of Moral Sentiments," he concluded an eminently practical arrangement, receiving for his services £300 and traveling expenses while acting as tutor, and a pension of £300 a year for life. In all, it is estimated that this appointment brought him £8,000. The greater part of his time abroad was spent in France, where he made the acquaintance of Voltaire, Rousseau, Turgot, Quesnay, and Necker. For Voltaire he conceived a profound admiration; Rousseau he appears to have disliked exceedingly, although Saint-Fond records that, visiting Smith in after years at Panmure House, he heard him speak of the author of the "Social Contract" with "a kind of religious respect." At Paris the economist was a welcome guest in all the famous salons, a veritable beau gallant, winning the hearts of the ladies as he won the minds of the men. "For ten months," one is told, "Smith suffered and enjoyed enough dissipation for a lifetime, if we may judge from the Hume correspondence." A serious-minded and observant man, he could not, however, come from la belle France empty-handed as regards the chief concerns of the inquest he had long been prosecuting, and which, while he was in France, began to show concrete results; for it was at Toulouse that the opening words of the "Wealth of Nations" were penned. Indeed, so productive of economic material was his European tour, and so close his intercourse with the French school of political economy, that it was not until the rediscovery of the lost lectures that any satisfactory means was at hand for determining to what extent he was indebted to the French school, and wherein, so far as the French economists were at one with him, he had preceded them.

His tour cut short by a tragedy, Smith made his way home at a critical moment in the affairs of England. The breach with the American colonies was widening; the Rockingham Ministry had given way to the Chatham-Shelburne-Townshend Cabinet. Thus the economist found not only that the commercial and colonial questions which he had studied so deeply were the leading questions of the day, but that the two statesmen with whom he was best acquainted —Shelburne and Townshend—were at most important posts. The advice which they solicited was freely given. Smith, we need only say here, was in full accord with Burke on the American problem. As the years passed he became "very

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zealous" in endeavoring to induce the Government to adopt a conciliatory policy before it was too late. Meantime, he labored unceasingly on his "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," which, strangely enough, first saw the light of day the year the colonies proclaimed their independence.

Thus far we have outlined only that phase of Mr. Hirst's work that shows us Adam Smith the man. We must, however, touch upon his interpretation of Adam Smith the philosopher, as seen in the examination of the "Theory of Moral Sentiments," the lectures, and the "Wealth of Nations." The misconceptions that have arisen owing to the fact that Smith, basing his theory of morals on sympathy, rested his theory of economics on self-interest, have already been largely cleared away; but it is pleasing to observe that Mr. Hirst's researches tend still further to relieve the Sage of Glasgow of the charge of inconsistency. On the other hand, it cannot be said that Mr. Hirst deals altogether fairly with the critics of the philosopher he holds in such obvious admiration. That he would seem to have wholly missed the spirit of some is evident from such a statement as, "Perhaps the reason why economists of the modern historical school so often fail as valuers of men and books is that they are enjoined by the very laws of their existence to be 'learned;' and 'learning' requires that obscure and deservedly forgotten writers should be rediscovered and magnified at the expense of surviving greatness." It would seem to be still more evident from the chapter on "Free Trade," a determined but not entirely satisfactory effort to prove that "the more one reads the 'Wealth of Nations' the more irresistibly is one drawn to the conclusion that the science of political economy, as established in this masterpiece, is inextricably bound up with the doctrine of free trade." Mr. Hirst here appears to overlook that to which Smith himself calls attention by his remark that "Defense is of much more importance than opulence." The controversial tone so markedly in evidence in this and the preceding chapter is, however, pleasantly absent from the exposition of the "Theory of Moral Sentiments" and the lectures. This is purely objective in treatment, the study of the lectures being especially informing, exhibiting as it does the beginnings and drift of the "Wealth." Following the chapter on "Free Trade," Mr. Hirst brings his memoir to a close by a decidedly readable sketch of his hero's declining years, from his appointment to the customs commissionership to the last Sunday evening gathering at Panmure House, when the venerable philosopher bade his friends farewell with the final flash of wit, "I believe we must adjourn this meeting to some other place."

Constructive Biblical Criticism[1]

THE opening sentence in the preface of Dr. Genung's book describes the spirit of all these volumes: "If a single word were sought to denote the spirit in which this volume has been written, the writer would lay claim to the word *constructive*." His volume deals with a single book of the Old Testament, the one which has probably given the greatest perplexity to literary critics and received the greatest variety of interpretations; Dr. Bacon's, with the Epistles of the writer who even in the New Testament is declared to speak "something hard to be understood." Of the other volumes, one deals with the whole history of Israel from its beginnings in the prehistoric age down to the return from the exile, one historically with the special development of its faith in the Spirit of God, and one theologically with the doctrine of the

[1] *Words of Koheleth: Son of David, King in Jerusalem.* Translated anew by John Franklin Genung. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.
The Story of St. Paul. By Benjamin Wisner Bacon. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.
Politics and Religion in Ancient Israel. By Rev. J. C. Todd. The Macmillan Co., New York.
The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature: A Study in the History of Religion. By Irving Wood, Ph.D. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York.
The Dynamic of Christianity. By Edward Mortimer Chapman. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

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Spirit in its relation to modern thought and life.

Professor Genung in three pages puts an effective quietus on the notion that the Book of Ecclesiastes "is a composite production by different authors, a kind of crazy-quilt, to which four or five writers with antagonistic points of view have contributed." There is reason for believing that the Book of Isaiah is the product of a variety of writers, for it is evidently and upon its face composed of a variety of writings, and whether these are all the work of one author or are the work of many authors is simply a question for literary criticism, in the absence of historical data, to determine. There is also very good reason to believe that the historical and legal books of the Bible are the product of a variety of authors. All history is composed of previous legends or documents, and in the more ancient history these legends or documents are incorporated in the historical narrative itself. In many cases the lines of cleavage are clearly marked in the Old Testament history. Law, too, is almost invariably a growth. There is first a custom or habit. This custom, or rather these customs, are after a time reduced to writing, and they become laws. These laws, after a time, are adjusted to one another, and so organized into a system and become a code. If the Old Testament laws were all given in one age and by one lawgiver, as the old theologians thought, the fact would be without a parallel in the legal history of the world. But, on the other hand, it would be difficult to designate any great book that is not the product of one great author. He may have availed himself of previous materials, as Shakespeare availed himself of ancient stories for his plots. But the book, if it be truly literature, is the product of one mind, not of many minds. If Job, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes are a patchwork, they are without parallels in the literary history of the world.

So far we agree absolutely with Professor Genung's view of Ecclesiastes. We recognize, furthermore, a very suggestive truth in his postulate that the Book of Ecclesiastes has in it a very scientific spirit, which he defines as "openness of vision," "the determination to accept reality and to watch for just so much as may be expected," "the bold use of such hypotheses as can be brought to book;"—that the writer of Ecclesiastes determined to describe life exactly as he saw it; that he repudiated all those religious and social conventions which in his time, as, alas! in all times, required men to shut their eyes to the truth, as though to see it and to say it were somehow perilous if not blasphemous. This is, we think, very clear, and this aspect of Ecclesiastes Dr. Genung has brought out with a great deal of power. But his volume appears to us imperfect as an interpretation of this strange book, because he recognizes in it nothing but the scientific temper, or perhaps we should say nothing in the scientific temper but the love of truth and audacity in stating it. But the scientific temper is also coldly intellectual, unemotive, unimaginative, passionless, while the Book of Ecclesiastes is essentially dramatic, poetic, a book of evanescent moods which come and go. It is not written by different authors, but it is the expression of an author whose view of life depends upon these moods, and whose moods are changeful. To quote what we have elsewhere said: "The writer of Ecclesiastes is not a philosopher; he is a poet interpreting human experience. . . . There are no parliamentary laws in the human soul, and no one to keep order—first one voice speaks, and then another; they shout against one another, they drown one another. Thus the Book of Ecclesiastes is deliberately and of intention confused, because it is the portrayal of the confused experiences of a soul divided against itself." Of this dramatic and self-contradictory character Professor Genung appears to us to take too little account. He transforms a dramatic monologue, which portrays the perplexities of the soul with frank outspokenness, into a philosophical treatise written in the intellectual temper of a cool-headed scientific thinker. Dr. Genung's book appears to us a valuable aid to the student of Ecclesiastes, but it should be studied in connection with Dr. Samuel Cox's "Commentary on Ecclesiastes"

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in the Expositor's Bible, and Dean Plumptre's Commentary in the Cambridge Bible.

"The Story of St. Paul" is a misnomer. It should rather be called A Study in St. Paul, for Dr. Bacon is a critic rather than a historian. Certainly his mind is analytical rather than dramatic. He is interested in getting at exact and accurate information respecting the events of past history, rather than in portraying either the events, the writing, or the characters, as a painter or dramatist might do. Thus, in his account of the conversion of St. Paul, he assumes that the reader knows the story as it is recorded in the different narratives in Acts. His chapter is devoted to a comparison of these narratives and a consideration of their historical trustworthiness, and to an analysis of the allusions in Paul's own letters to the spiritual experience through which he was transformed from the Jewish to the Christian Church, or rather, we should say, from a Jewish to a Christian experience. Similarly, his treatment of the Epistles of Paul is critical rather than literary. He gives a very careful and judicial analysis of the Epistles, an exposition, so to speak, of their anatomical structure, but he makes little or no attempt to interpret the life which lies behind the literature. In this respect his book is the antipodes of Dr. Matheson's "Spiritual Development of St. Paul." It is interesting to compare Dr. Bacon's analysis of the seventh chapter of Romans with that of Henry Ward Beecher, published in the supplement to Lyman Abbott's Life of Henry Ward Beecher. One is the analysis of a scholar who is not a poet; the other, the analysis of a poet who is not a scholar. For the student who desires to get the latest information which a fearless and reverent scholarship has to give respecting our sources of information concerning Paul and his Epistles, we know of no book better than this volume of Dr. Bacon, but it is distinctly the work of a student, and requires for its appreciation a student's thoughtfulness.

We do not recall any volume on the Old Testament which has compacted the results of so much modern scholarship in so small a space, and at the same time given the result in so intelligible and readable a form, as "Politics and Religion in Ancient Israel." For this book, while based on both wide and thorough scholarship, is very far from being encyclopædic. It is not reportorial; it is interpretative. The volume has a unity which we do not ordinarily look for in volumes which, like this, bear the sub-title "An Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament." The author makes the starting-point of his study the Book of Lamentations, because he makes the Old Testament the *epos* of the fall of Jerusalem. Having in a very few touches sketched a picture of the thickly populated city, its siege and fall, and the captivity of its people, he goes back to trace from its beginnings the history of the city whose end was so tragic. Making this his starting-point, he makes the pathos of the end the interpretation of the whole historical development. The destruction of the city by the Babylonian army in 586 B.C. is, in his view, the key to the Bible. "The circumstances which led up to it, the disaster itself, and the consequences which followed, form the subject of the whole."

This history, as the author sees it, is that of a national development, consistently rising from a lower to a higher ethical condition through experiences of victory and defeat, of virtue and vice, of temptation sometimes succumbed to and sometimes resisted, but of an intellectual nature ever growing clearer, and an ethical and spiritual nature ever growing broader and nobler. "The whole fantastic conception of the moral decline," he says, "must be thrown to the moles and bats." The old-fashioned interpretation of the story as that of a decline from an original revelation, despite some "two or three dozen men of towering intellect and moral excellence in the history of a nation which otherwise was terribly depraved, and whose whole history is a going from bad to worse," he declares "makes the story of Israel so unreal. . . . In fact, each generation of Israel shows a falling short of its own standard, but the standard was constantly rising, and the final ethics of

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Israel have practically become the ethics of the world." In consonance with this theory, the author not only treats the so-called Mosaic code as a gradual development, but he regards the Book of Deuteronomy as scarcely even a normal product of that development, rather a code deliberately designed by the nobles for the purpose of strengthening the monarchy and centralizing all Judah in the capital, and Moses himself as a shadowy character of whom we know little but the name—an imaginative creation of the prophetic period. "It was the law which made the lawgiver." It is natural, therefore, that he should attribute the Ten Commandments to the time of Hezekiah: "The aim of the [aristocratic] party was to make Jerusalem a powerful, well-ordered, God-fearing city. . . . This is the most probable origin that can be suggested for the great code."

Like most writers who attempt to simplify, Mr. Todd appears to us to simplify too much. The history of the race is like the history of the individual. There are periods of progress, of halting, of decay. To treat all the notion of "moral decline" as a "fantastic conception" seems to us as unreal to the facts of life as to treat the whole history of Israel as the story of a gradual moral decline from which God endeavored by successive interventions, but without success, to pull up the nation, and from which at last, by a greater intervention in the incarnation, he has succeeded in pulling up the whole human race. Evolution is a far better key to the interpretation of the history of Israel than degradation; but any theory of moral evolution which takes full account of the facts must recognize two factors which Mr. Todd seems to us inadequately to recognize: first, the presence of men of great moral genius who set up noble standards far above those of their age; and, secondly, the failure of the community to live up to those standards, and their subsequent sense of sin and degradation in acts and conditions which, but for that standard, would not be sinful, because they would not be willful. We recommend "Politics and Religion in Ancient Israel" to our readers as an interesting and valuable interpretation of the history of Israel from the evolutionary point of view, and as, in the main, an admirable piece of reconstruction of the literary history of the Bible on the basis of modern criticism; but we think that, in his reaction against the theory of this history as one of moral decline, the author has too little recognized the truth which that theory really contains.

Dr. Wood's book on the Spirit of God in Biblical Literature is a careful study in Biblical Theology. Dr. Wood traces the historical development of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit from its earliest to its latest stages in Hebrew literature, from the time when it was not distinguished from the breath of God, and was regarded as a factor in the mechanical work of creation, to the time when it was declared by Christ to be the great co-operating power in human experience, the Comforter and Life-giver, the Paraclete, the measure of whose influence is indicated by Paul's prayer for his friends, that they might be filled with all the fullness of God. The author believes in progressive revelation; he has made a very careful study of his theme; he has collated substantially all the passages which explicitly and in terms relate to it; and he has brought to their study a keen analytical mind, and has subjected them to an analysis at once free and reverent. In painstakingness of preparation, thoroughness of collection and collation of Scripture passages, independence of investigation of their meaning, and candor of spirit in interpretation, this volume leaves nothing to be desired. But it appears to us that there is something, perhaps much, in the higher spiritual experiences which defies analysis, and that Dr. Wood does not sufficiently recognize this transcendent element. That spiritual experience is a growth we do not doubt; but the experience and the philosophy are not always consistent; they are sometimes flatly inconsistent. There were in Jonathan Edwards, as a mystic, experiences of the greatness of God's goodness which it is impossible to reconcile with the theories of Jonathan Edwards as a theologian; and in John Wesley experiences of absolute trust in the sovereign power of God which it is diffi-

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cult to reconcile with his theories of the ultimate free will of man. There are similar incongruities in the spiritual experiences of the Biblical writer. No modern has ever given more eloquent expression to the universal presence of God in all the experiences of life than has been given by the author of the 139th Psalm; and we cannot reconcile the Plowman's Ode (Isaiah xxviii. 23–29) with the general theology of that period that the Spirit of God was to be seen only in the exceptional experiences of exceptional men. We agree with Dr. Wood that the divine immanence did not find lodgment as a doctrine in the Church until the time of Paul; but experiences of the presence of God which are philosophically explicable only by that doctrine are recorded in writings far anterior to Paul's time. Dr. Wood's book is a thoroughly scholarly interpretation of a phase of life which scholarship alone cannot adequately interpret. It does for the interpretation of the spiritual life what the analytical botanist does for the study of a flower, and does it well. But the botanist leaves something beyond for the artist to say; and the scholar leaves something for the mystic.

A very different book in its contents, but not in its spirit, is "The Dynamic of Christianity." The dynamic of Christianity is the Spirit of God in the hearts and lives of his children. This is the secret of that vitality of Christianity which enables it to withstand all persecutions from without, to shake off the shackles of tradition imposed on it by its friends, and to rise triumphant over superstition, dissensions, and corruption within. It is this also which gives to the Church the liberty to adapt its instruments to the varying needs of different epochs and different peoples; to translate its experiences into new philosophic forms of thought; to use a liturgy or dispense with a liturgy; to baptize by immersion or by sprinkling; to avail itself of bishops or to dispense with them. The doctrine of the Spirit Dr. Chapman deduces no less from the history of the Church and the experience of the individual than from the teachings of Scripture. In this doctrine he finds the basis for the authority both of the Church and of Scripture. Coming by an entirely different approach from that of Dr. Wood, philosophical in his method, not exegetical, he reaches the same result. The two books supplement each other, and together constitute a valuable interpretation of that era of reliance upon the Spirit on which the Church is now entering.

Grouping these five volumes together, it may safely be said that they afford a demonstration of an intellectual and spiritual power in the theological thought of America of which the American Church may justly be proud, and from which it may rightfully augur a bright future.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

Being Done Good: Comments on the Advance made by Medical Science during the Past 5,500 Years in the Treatment of Rheumatism. By Edward B. Lent. (Second Edition.) The Brooklyn Eagle Press, Brooklyn, New York. 5×8 in. 345 pages. $1.50.

Bravest of the Brave, Captain Charles de Langlade. By Publius V. Lawson, LL.B. George Banta Publishing Co., Menasha, Wis. 5×8 in. 261 pages.

Business Career in its Public Relations (The). By Albert Shaw, Ph.D. Paul Elder & Co., San Francisco. 5×8 in. 60 pages. $1, net.

On the Weinstock foundation at the University of California lectures on the moral law in its bearing on business life have been established. This is the first of these lectures to be published. In it Mr. Shaw undertakes to show that the sense of public duty in the line of a man's own calling, characteristic of men in professional life, is becoming more and more a trait of business men and is making of the commercial vocations veritable professions, and that the dignity and worth of the business career increase with the diminution of that anti-social spirit commonly called "commercialism."

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Christian Life in the Primitive Church. By Ernst von Dobschutz, D.D. Translated by Rev. George Bremner, D.D. Edited by Rev. W. D. Morrison, LL.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5½×9 in. 438 pages. $3.

Reserved for later notice.

Connection between Old and New Testaments. By Rev. G. Milne Rae, D.D. (The Temple Series of Bible Handbooks.) The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 4×5¼ in. 124 pages.

The history of the Jewish people and the development of Judaism during the four centuries preceding the Christian era are here concisely given.

Diary of a Church-Goer (The). The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×7½ in. 227 pages. $1.50.

An English Churchman here jots down his thoughts for the sake of a clear mind. Much of the Prayer Book has become antiquated for him, prayer after prayer seems false to a true idea of the kingdom of God, and the creeds provoke his dissent; but he cordially believes in "the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, who speaks by the prophets." A plea for spiritual liberty, the freedom of faith, runs through his diary. From being fettered to an unrevised service, in so many points discordant with real conviction, only mischief grows; lack of sincerity is doing damage. Its polished literary style, urbanity of temper, and intentness on reality in religion commend this book to readers of more communions than the one with which it is concerned. *De te fabula narratur* may be said of most of us.

Diseases of Society (The). By G. Frank Lydston, M.D. Illustrated. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 5½×8¼ in. 626 pages. $3, net. (Postage, 17c.)

Early Writings of Montaigne (The). By Grace Norton. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×7 in.

These include his translation of Raymond Sebon's massive "Theologia Naturalis," his Dedicatory Letters, and Letter on the death of his dear friend La Boétie. Montaigne's family, his travels, and his literary contemporaries in Bordeaux form topics of interesting papers. A note on "Studies in Montaigne," also by Grace Norton, will be found under that head.

Facts About Violins and Violin-Making. By Hans Tietgen. Published by the Author, 52 Union Square, New York. 4¾×7¾ in. 31 pages.

Famous Fighters of the Fleet: Glimpses through the Cannon Smoke in the Days of the Old Navy. By Edward Fraser. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×8 in. 323 pages. $1.75.

Famous Men of Rome. Famous Men of Greece. Famous Men of the Middle Ages. By John H. Haaren, LL.D., and A. B. Poland, Ph.D. (The Famous Men Series.) Illustrated. The University Publishing Co., New York. 5×7½ in.

History is never more attractive than when cast in the form of biography. The touch of personal life thus given to it makes this mode especially suitable to children, as preparatory to systematic historical study, the focal points of which have thus been fixed in mind. The series of historical stories here presented is thus based on sound principle, and is thoroughly commendable for use in the school or the family. The copious illustrations which enrich it are of superior merit, photographic reproductions of costly works by great artists.

Forms of Public Address (The). Edited by George P. Baker. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 472 pages.

The introduction to this volume points out that the intercollegiate debate, now attracting wide interest, is but one of many forms of public address, and the special discipline gained by it is helpful to comparatively few. Some sixty selections from writers and speakers, mostly American, illustrate a dozen other forms, from the private letter to the after-dinner speech. The study of these, on the lines here suggested, is planned to round out a year, either in the lecture or the recitation method. The ideal in view is "thought, adequately phrased." The selections presented as models give a value to the volume that the general reader, as well as instructors and students, will appreciate for their historical or personal as well as literary worth.

Fragments of Prose and Poetry. By Frederic W. H. Myers. Edited by his Wife, Eveleen Myers. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 6×9 in. 211 pages. $2.50, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Frans Hals. By Gerald S. Davies, M.A. Illustrated. (The Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 144 pages. $1.75.

An edition in small size of the sumptuous work already noticed in these columns.

From Tokio Through Manchuria with the Japanese. By Louis Livingston Seaman, M.D., LL.B. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 268 pages. $1.50, net.

Our readers will remember that The Outlook has already called attention to the admirable work of Dr. Seaman in his personal study of the sanitary and surgical side of the Russo-Japanese war. The present volume is a record of military and personal experiences during his expedition to the front. The article by Dr. Seaman published elsewhere in this issue will indicate better than a brief review can possibly do the intelligence and authority with which Dr. Seaman writes, even when his work is distinctly journalistic, as this book professedly is.

Government and the Citizen. By Roscoe Lewis Ashley. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5¼×8 in. 252 pages. 70c.

Handbook of Plant Morphology, Being the Handbook of Plant Dissection. By J. C. Arthur, Charles R. Barnes, and John M. Coulter. Revised and Rewritten by Otis W. Caldwell, Ph.D. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 190 pages.

Health Primer (A) for Elementary Readers. By Walter M. Coleman. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 189 pages. 35c.

Hurlbut's Story of the Bible: Told for Young and Old. By Rev. Jesse Lyman Hurlbut, D.D. Illustrated. The John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia. 6½×9½ in. 750 pages.

Dr. Hurlbut has succeeded in what he has undertaken: to tell in childlike but dignified

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language the "story of the Bible" in a series of independent though connected "stories from the Bible." He has not undertaken to retell the facts which the Biblical books contain, but rather to simplify and bring within the compass of a child's understanding the Biblical narratives themselves. Occasional phrases or sentences of explanation are inevitable, and these are framed with a great deal of judgment. In this particular, as in the narrative throughout, there is maintained thorough respect both for the Bible and for children. The illustrations, which are profuse, conform, on the whole, to the character of the text.

History of England (A). By A. P. Stone, LL.D. Revised by Walter H. Cushing. Thompson, Brown & Co., Boston. 4½×7½ in. 266 pages. 85c.

Incense. By Levi Gilbert. Jennings & Graham, Cincinnati. 5×7¼ in. 118 pages.

John Henry Barrows: A Memoir. By his Daughter Mary Eleanor Barrows. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 450 pages.

This memorial of one who passed away in his prime, prematurely consumed by his zeal as preacher, educator, patriot, for the highest human interests, the beloved pastor of churches East and West, the beloved President of Oberlin, the organizer and director of the epoch-marking Parliament of Religions at Chicago, will be prized by a multitude to whom contact with him imparted light and quickening. His biographer has both fulfilled a filial duty and performed a public service.

Kindly Light: A Little Book of Yearning. By John Milton Scott. Upland Farms Alliance, Oscawana-on-Hudson, New York. 3½×6¾ in. 243 pages.

King Leopold's Rule in Africa. By Edmund D. Morel (E. D. M.). Illustrated. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 466 pages. $3.75.

This is a severe arraignment of the administration of the Congo Free State. Though some of the most shocking testimony is unfortunately anonymous, there is enough that is vouched for personally to make the accusations amount to an indictment, if not conviction. It is the same horrible picture presented here which has been given time and again to the world, and which the apologists for the Congo State have not been able to erase. The author is the Honorary Secretary of the Congo Reform Association, member of the African Society, and editor of the "West African Mail." The Outlook will before long publish an article from his pen in explanation of the purposes of the Congo Reform Movement.

Makers of the American Republic: A Series of Patriotic Lectures. By David Gregg, D.D. (New and Enlarged Edition.) Illustrated. E. B. Treat & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 527 pages. $2.

All but two of these stirring lectures are by Dr. Gregg. More than half of them were given on days of patriotic commemoration, and have a ring that fits the occasion. Not only are our forefathers of different nationalities commemorated, but our foremothers also, and "the black forefathers" are not omitted. It is a book that school-children should be introduced to.

Memoir of Rosamond Davenport-Hill. By Ethel E. Metcalf. With Portraits. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 145 pages. $1.

This biography reveals an interesting character and throws some valuable light on English educational and social problems.

Ministries of Hope (The): Easter Messages. By Willis P. Odell. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 5×8 in. 129 pages.

New Philosophy (The). By Arthur Crane. Published by the Author, San Francisco, California. 5½×8½ in. 47 pages.

The philosophy here set forth is "new" only in the basis which Mr. Crane finds for it, viz., a new analogy between physical and moral principles. From the laws of voltage in electricity "can be gleaned all the philosophy necessary for the proper conduct of life." This, however, appears to be, in the main, about as old as the Proverbs of Solomon. As the author believes it more blessed to give than to receive, he "will send a copy of this book to every applicant gratis and post-paid," with no object in view but to impart a benefit.

Outlines of the Synoptic Record: Being a Summary of the Narrative of the First Three Gospels in the Light of Modern Criticism. By Rev. Bernard Hugh Bosanquet, M.A., and Reginald A. Wenham, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 4½×7¾ in. 283 pages. $1.70, net. (Postage, 12c.)

In using "the light of modern criticism," as promised on their title-page, the authors of this scholarly volume seem conscious of barriers not to be passed. A reticence is observable in dealing with miraculous narratives which contrasts with the freedom exercised in the non-miraculous. With this limitation, the book, while not professing to be a life of Jesus, is a good critical outline of his career as exhibited in the first three Gospels.

Prophets as Statesmen and Preachers (The). By Henry T. Fowler, Ph.D. (Pilgrim Series.) The Pilgrim Press, Boston. 4½×7 in. 159 pages. 30c., net.

This manual, which seems well planned for use in Bible classes, provides for a half-year of weekly lessons. It is likely to be helpful in the use of a larger work, such as the "Messages of the Prophets" by Professors Sanders and Kent.

Psychology: An Introductory Study of the Structure and Function of Human Consciousness. By James Rowland Angell. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5¼×8¼ in. 402 pages. $1.50.

St. John and His Work. By Rev. Canon Benham, D.D. (The Temple Series of Bible Handbooks.) The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 4×5¼ in. 99 pages.

The author has not entered into any of the critical questions that touch his subject, but has contented himself with presenting the traditional account of it.

Seven Lamps for the Teacher's Way. By Frank A. Hill, Litt.D. Ginn & Co., Boston. 4½×7 in. 34 pages.

Ruskin's "Seven Lamps of Architecture"

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suggested the title of this lecture by the late Dr. Hill, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. It may be characterized as a piece of inspirational philosophy. It was a public favorite, and the demand for it since his death has occasioned its present publication.

Secret of Petrarch (The). By Edmund James Mills. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 219 pages. $3, net.

A series of prose studies supplemented by some translations and some original verse interpretative of the life and genius of Petrarch. The prose consists of small but rather discursive chapters touching various points in connection with Laura, her identity, her birthplace, her character, and incidents in her relations with Petrarch. The volume lacks coherence, but gathers up and presents in an agreeable way a great many facts relating to Petrarch's passion and his poetic celebration of it, with some account of Vaucluse and the neighborhood so intimately associated with the poet.

Short and Easy Anthems for Mixed Voices. Edited by Charles H. Morse. Oliver Ditson Co., Boston. 6½×11 in. 119 pages.

These forty-five selections, representing composers ranging from Arcadelt and Farrant to Abt and Stainer, are well within the capabilities of almost any choir which can regularly maintain four-voice parts, will appeal to the musical taste that enjoys tunefulness, and at the same time are of sufficient musical value to enable any choir that uses them to retain its self-respect.

Story of Art Throughout the Ages: An Illustrated Record. By S. Reinach. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5¼×8½ in. 316 pages. $2, net.

To bring within the compass of a single volume, in which considerable space is devoted to pictures, the history of drawing, painting, pottery, sculpture, and architecture from prehistoric times up through the nineteenth century implies such condensation as to lead one to expect a result of encyclopædic dryness. In this case, however, the work has been done in a spirit far from perfunctory. In the style there are surprising vivacity and individuality. To be terse has not meant, in the writing of this book, to be impersonal. So far from being a mere annotated catalogue of works of art chronologically arranged, this is a sketch of the movements in art as related to the stages of civilization in which they rose and had sway. Far, too, from being a rehash of traditions, it is constantly running up against cherished notions that have many times passed for artistic convictions. The function of art to embody in adequate form conceptions of beauty is never lost to sight. Of course there are many points at which one reader or another will take issue with the author. It might be suggested, for instance, that the real cause for the rise of a distinctive Gothic architecture is obscured by undue emphasis on secondary causes, or that Cimabue is treated too curtly. No one, however, can touch art without giving occasion for discussion if not dispute. The individual common sense, the happy and sometimes sharply incisive phrases, and the broadly critical spirit of the book are traits rare in an outline of this sort.

Studies in Montaigne. By Grace Norton. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×7 in.

These are for the admirers of the celebrated essayist rather than for the general reader. Miss Norton aims to show that the two essays severally entitled "Apologie de Raimond Sebond" and "De la Vanité" are each composite. The original text of the latter is reprinted, so as to exhibit its independent components in their distinctness. Papers following these, "Inscriptions in Montaigne's Library" and "Montaigne as a Reader," contain material of original interest to English students of Montaigne.

Sunny Sicily: Its Rustics and its Ruins. By Mrs. Alec-Tweedie. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5¾×9 in. 392 pages. $5.

The author of books on Norway, Iceland, Finland, and Mexico shows herself none the less at home in Sicily. Her text has a charming vivacity, and it is supposed to be reinforced by over a hundred and thirty illustrations from photographs mostly taken by the author. In fact, however, the illustrations are hardly good enough for the text, which nevertheless has the benefit of a map and an index, as is fitting. What we get from Mrs. Tweedie is just the kind of information which intending travelers desire. They can read Freeman—and who is better?—on the history of Sicily; they can read equally eminent authorities on Sicilian archæology and Sicilian art. But of books concerning the Sicily of to-day we have not too many. While Mrs. Tweedie tells us about routes to and around the island and about travelers' needs there, she talks mostly about the actual life of the Sicilians on the countryside and in the towns—the markets, puppet shows, lotteries, black olives, Marsala wines, Girgenti flowers, goatherds, water-carriers, green-grocers, street musicians, street bread venders, brigands, beggars. Though by no means so erudite, the present volume, in actual information as to present conditions, is worthy of a place alongside that standard work, Mr. Paton's "Picturesque Sicily."

Who's Who, 1905: An Annual Biographical Dictionary. Fifty-seventh Year of Issue. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 1,795 pages. $2.

Increased in size and improved in arrangement, this extremely valuable book of English biographic data about living Englishmen (with a relatively small number of important non-English persons) is more than welcome to our shelf of ready reference books. With its American namesake it comes under the category of books not merely valuable but really indispensable in journalistic work.

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Correspondence

Letters addressed to the Editors of The Outlook, to receive any attention whatever, must in all cases be accompanied by the name and address of the writer. Names will not be published if a request to that effect is made by the writer, but no attention, either personal or editorial, can be paid to anonymous communications.

A Desirable Change

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The inclement Week of Prayer this year reminds me of your repeated suggestion that the time be changed to Holy Week. Last year our coldest weather came during the first week of January. The season of holiday festivity and the uncertain character of the weather combine to urge a change to the more solemn and moderate season of Easter. Even in the cities cold and storm make a difference, and in village and rural communities they discount seriously the attempt to hold special meetings for prayer. My observation leads me to believe that the Week of Prayer is becoming a lifeless formality, owing to the unfavorable time of year.

C. M.

Wallkill, New York.

Strike Violence—Another View

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Mr. Slason Thompson favored your readers with what he is pleased to call "Statistics of Strike Violence." But there are always two sides to a question, and, as I have in one capacity or another been connected with strikes for nearly forty years, I hope you will permit me to present some statistics.

Mr. Thompson's statistics show that 198 persons have been killed during strikes since January 1, 1902. I do not uphold violence or lawlessness in any form, and during these long years I have never heard a trade-union official advocate either. Nay, more, I have never attended a convention or meeting prior to a strike at which the leader would not counsel with all his power and earnestness to avoid violence in every form.

Since January 1, 1902, the date selected by Mr. Thompson, the following number of men have lost their lives through the notorious, flagrant, and willful violation of the law by coal operators:

Lost Creek, Iowa	21
Coal Creek, Tenn	216
Johnstown, Pa	130
Harwick, Pa	189
Tercio, Colo	67
Park City, Utah	35
Wyoming, Wyo	246
	904

In addition to these, nearly 1,500 children were made orphans and 672 women left widows. Every one of these 904 men as surely lost his life through corporate violence as did any man quoted by Mr. Thompson by "strike violence." Coroners' juries so stated.

During the anthracite strike there was an awful outcry about murders and mob violence in that region. I wrote to the Chiefs of Police of the following cities: Indianapolis, Indiana; Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; Cleveland, Ohio; Buffalo, New York; St. Louis, Missouri; Louisville, Kentucky; Chicago, Illinois; Cincinnati, Ohio. I received replies from Chiefs John McAllesse, George E. Connor, Francis O'Neil, W. S. Bull, Mathew Kiley, Sebastian Gunthen, James Casey, and George Taffe, of their respective cities, stating the numbers of murders and assaults occurring during the time of that strike. Their replies were as follows:

	Murders	Assaults
Pittsburg	39	71
Cleveland	19	113
Chicago	103	
Buffalo	27	170
St. Louis	66	479
Louisville	28	101
Cincinnati	23	486
Indianapolis	10	98

According to the reports of the Anthracite Commission, there were eight murders in the strike region during 1902, of which four were committed by strike-breakers and four by strikers. The population of the nine anthracite counties and of the cities named was, according to the census of 1900, in round numbers as follows:

Anthracite Region	1,100,000
Pittsburg	321,000
Cincinnati	325,000
Louisville	204,000
Cleveland	381,000
Indianapolis	169,000
St. Louis	575,000
Chicago	1,700,000
Buffalo	352,000

Does Mr. Thompson grasp the significance of these figures taken from the records? If he does not, let me analyze them for him.

For every death he cites as growing out of strike violence, I show him nearly five times that many as direct results of corporation lawlessness.

Coming to the reports of the Chiefs of Police, let Mr. Thompson consider: That while the anthracite strike was on, with all its bitterness, with human passions at blood heat, there was but one murder in the strike region for every 140,000 people. Let us tabulate these figures so that Mr. Thompson can fully see their force. There was:

In Pittsburg	1	murder	for each	9,000	inhab.
" Cleveland	1	"	" "	20,000	"
" St. Louis	1	"	" "	9,000	"
" Louisville	1	"	" "	7,000	"
" Cincinnati	1	"	" "	14,000	"
" Indianapolis	1	"	" "	17,000	"
" Anthracite Region	1	"	" "	130,000	"

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Mr. Thompson cannot rail these figures away unless the police records of the various cities can be railed away. Let us present this in another way: There are, in round numbers, 14,000,000 voters in the United States. Of that number organized labor constitutes about 2,000,000. The Chicago "Tribune" collected and published the fact that there were 10,267 murders in the United States during 1902, in just half the time Mr. Thompson shows that 198 lives were lost during strikes. Then strike violence caused one death in 10,000 of its membership, while the 12,000,000 caused one death for 1,200 of the population—a proportion of nearly nine to one in favor of the "strike rioter."

What causes violence during strikes? Did Mr. Thompson ever consider the overpowering force of example? If not, here is the greatest factor among the causes of lawlessness. For instance, John Doe is a coal operator. He gets a charter from the State to mine coal, subject to its mining laws. They are good, wholesome laws, designed to protect the miner in his life and limb and property. John Doe notoriously and flagrantly violates these laws. There is a disaster. Scores are killed or maimed. Then comes Richard Roe, a striker, who may, perhaps, reason thus: "John Doe has violated the law and escaped punishment, his disobedience has killed my comrades, maimed me, and injured my property. What superior right has John Doe's life and property over mine?" Can Mr. Thompson see the point? I say to Mr. Thompson that it is more dangerous to call a man a "scab" than to disobey the law and burn a score of men up in a mine.

Weak or hot-headed men with breasts rankling with remembered wrongs may indulge in violence only at their peril. But John Doe's premeditated offense is speedily forgotten and never punished.

I challenge Mr. Thompson to show wherein one coal operator was ever punished for his willful, cold-blooded, and defiant disobedience of the law, and against that one man I will show that the bones of the miners who have lost their lives by the flagrant defiance of the law by their employers would make a greater heap than that which the impious sons of men raised on Shinar's plain.

What is the remedy for all these wrongs? The Nation is a hotbed of anarchy. Each man or corporation is a law unto himself. Each obeys the law as it suits his purpose. The remedy is not to be found in clubbing the heads of a few belligerent strikers, nor in the swift process of Judge Lynch. But the beginning must be made at the top. A cold, calm, merciless enforcement of the law—impartial law—wherein the millionaire and the mendicant will meet swift and certain punishment for their infractions of the law. No other course is open if the Republic is to survive. As it stands to-day, give me $5,000,000 and I will, in the language of Kipling, "put my foot through the Ten Commandments" between reveillé and "Lights out," and I will never pay a penny fine nor suffer an hour's imprisonment.

I am not railing at or attempting to create class bitterness. All I have ever written or said has been to the contrary. But I do consider it an unworthy task to expend time and trouble in berating men who, if they have done wrong, have simply followed in the numerous and stupendous examples of their employers.

S. M. SEXTON,
Editor United Mine Workers' Journal.
Indianapolis, Indiana.

A Small Verdict with a Large Possible Result

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The recent decision of the County Court of Franklin County, of the State of New York, in the case of Rockefeller *vs.* Lamora, in which the plaintiff secured a nominal verdict of eighteen cents, is one of the most important cases of that class which has ever been tried; and, if sustained, will be far-reaching in its results. It may be remembered that over a year ago there was some newspaper comment in regard to threats of personal violence against Mr. William Rockefeller by dissatisfied residents of the Adirondacks. This current comment has been accentuated by the fact that Mr. Rockefeller was plaintiff in an action against an Adirondack guide. Mr. Rockefeller owns a large tract of land in the Adirondacks, through which flows the St. Regis River, a stream of considerable importance, which, with its branches, forms one of the largest watersheds in northern New York. Some years before Mr. Rockefeller purchased the land, the Forest, Fish, and Game Commission had stocked the waters with fish from the State hatcheries. Previous to the purchase there had been no restraint upon fishing in these waters at such times as was permitted by the statutes. Mr. Oliver Lamora, an old soldier, who is now an Adirondack guide, was found fishing within the bounds of the Rockefeller preserve. He was arrested, sued for trespass, and was acquitted. On appeal to the County Court the decision was affirmed. Appeal was again made to the Appellate Court, and the case came back for retrial. Mr. Lamora was again successful, and Mr. Rockefeller again appealed, and at the recent decision at Malone he is apparently successful; but unless Mr. Lamora's resources should be exhausted, there will doubtless be an appeal to a higher court, and the case will be fought to the end. The small damages give an air of absurdity to the proceedings, but the matter is strictly a matter of law. No doubt public opinion in this section will be in favor of the defendant, who has conducted his case in a reputable manner; but there is undoubtedly an honest difference of opinion. Mr. Rockefeller holds that his lands are private property, while the defendant maintains that the waters were stocked by the State before Mr. Rockefeller purchased the land, and that gives any citizen the right to fish therein, subject only to the statute laws. The case is a novel one, and if a decision is rendered from the

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highest court in the State, it will form a precedent which must be followed in many similar cases. It is to be hoped that Mr. Rockefeller's great wealth will in no way influence a decision which must ultimately determine public and private riparian rights. The common-law doctrine in regard to rivers has long been obsolete, and the statutes consist merely of a definition of public and private rights; and, as Mr. Lamora claims nothing but rights which are common to every one, it is difficult to see how the State can sustain Mr. Rockefeller without giving up some of its own vested rights; because to do so would leave the State at the mercy of Mr. Rockefeller more than any private individual could be. If another party owned the opposite side of the stream, he could fish in it and Mr. Rockefeller could not help himself. It is possible to conceive of a private corporation's owning New York's river front from Castle Garden to Fourteenth Street and using it for other purposes, but, under such circumstances, we think the State of New York would show its sovereign power. While this illustration may be extreme, the principle is apparently the same.

J. B. DUBOIS.

Ogdensburg, New York.

[In connection with this case it is well to remember that in England the best public opinion is unshaken in its support of public rights of way through private property. One case is related of a country house being built in such a way that the line of infrequently used but nevertheless well-established public foot-path passed through the dining-room. Once in a given period a party of neighbors of the owner of this country mansion, including some ladies of influential social position, take the path, enter the house, and march through the dining-room without any announcement or apology, in order to maintain the right of way. The English laws protecting the public rights on private property are much more stringent and effective than ours.—THE EDITORS.]

Mrs. Horace Bushnell

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Great numbers of Dr. Horace Bushnell's admirers throughout the country will learn with interest and surprise that his wife is still living, having completed one hundred years of life in Hartford within a few days. Mrs. Bushnell, who was born in New Haven, January 1, 1805, is a lineal descendant of John Davenport, the founder and first minister of the New Haven Colony. Her name at the time of her marriage, September 13, 1833, was Mary Apthorp. The mother of Mrs. Bushnell, Mrs. E. C. Apthorp, died in New Haven some twenty years ago at the age of ninety-five. Mrs. Bushnell, who lives with her daughter, Mrs. Appleton R. Hillyer, of Hartford, is in comfortable health and retains her faculties intact. She greatly enjoys outdoor life, and for years has spent the summer with the remaining daughter, Mrs. Frank W. Cheney, of South Manchester, who edited the biography of Dr. Bushnell. Half a dozen grandsons of the centenarian, sons of Colonel Frank W. Cheney, one of the most widely known veterans of the Civil War in Connecticut, make the summer and autumn months of the year particularly joyous for her. One grandson, Lieutenant Ward Cheney, of the Regular Army, lost his life in the Spanish-American War. Mrs. Bushnell can recall with precision all the wars that have taken place in this country since the Revolutionary period. She has lived under all the Presidents of the United States except Washington and the first Adams. Through life she has been a woman of marked intellectuality. The supreme tenderness and respect which Dr. Bushnell felt for her are shown in his will, the document being drawn by himself eight months before his death, which took place in Hartford, February 17, 1876. In the will Dr. Bushnell wrote: "I count it my special felicity that I can make this testimony of confidence in my dear wife, who has supported my lot for so many years by her faithful economy, her religious help and counsel in my official duties and responsibilities." With touching interest he adds: "My manuscripts at the death of my wife must go somewhere. I place them for the present in her hands, giving it as my particular charge that she burn all but a very few of them as soon as she can do it understandingly. Futhermore, I charge it on those who may come into possession of what are left never to allow such use to be made of the immature, often merely transitional and generally undigested matters they contain as will weaken me in things published or make me responsible for sentiments or arguments that my slow working habit has already outgrown." This part of Dr. Bushnell's will shows the complete confidence which the noted theologian placed in the judgment and loyalty of his wife. The biography of Dr. Bushnell, which in the main was the work of his daughter, Mrs. Cheney, is the embodiment of the family knowledge and appreciation of the great thinker and divine. The centennial of Mrs. Bushnell's birth was observed in the family circle alone on the first of January, the occasion being the happiest of New Years.

IRA E. FORBES.

Hartford, Connecticut.

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but is better known, perhaps, as the author of a fascinating study of the romance of science, recently published under the title "Inoculating the Ground."

***

Queer letters come to The Outlook every day—some to the editors and some to the Publisher's Desk. One received lately that is both amusing and pathetic begins, "I have a grate dezire to be a poet," and after reciting with eccentric orthography a variety of family incidents, concludes thus: "If you wish me to write short stories and poetry for Outlook & Co. please send me a letter by return mail and on what obligations you want me to write, as nothing could please me more than to become a poet, and that I hope you will oblidgingly ancer my litter by return mail."

***

The members of the Outlook family have been more than usually helpful and enthusiastic during the past few months in pushing out the limits of the household circle, and on New Year's Day the group of readers who had by yearly subscriptions gained the right to be counted as a part of the family rather than mere holiday guests was larger by a number of thousands than at any previous time. This ought to give an added sense of responsibility to the editors—for it is their business to *keep* subscribers whom the publisher, co-operating with present readers, is able to introduce. And they are certainly doing it. The helpfulness of our readers in bringing The Outlook before new readers is indicated by such letters as this from Kansas City, which is only one of hundreds: "I am always pleased to place your publication in the hands of any of my acquaintances. I presume, as a matter of fact, I have secured between thirty and forty subscriptions for you in this way in the past five or six years. Eleven copies, to my certain knowledge, were taken in one business office."

***

Here is a letter which came the other day from Albany, which helps to explain the rather intimate relation existing between The Outlook and many of its readers, and hints at one reason why we do not—as many publishers do—cut off a subscription sharply upon its expiration: "If you cut my name from your mailing list, as threatened in yours of the 9th, just received, I shall sue you for desertion, breach of promise, and a large sum of alimony. I have been a subscriber to The Outlook ever since it was born, and in its prenatal existence as The Christian Union. Seriously, I inclose check for $3 on account, and hereby serve notice upon you that you may continue the subscription to my address, indefinitely, whether I pay for it or not, until I notify you to discontinue. Of course I should have advised you to this effect earlier, and hereby apologize for my failure to do so. My subscription to The Outlook will be a preferred claim against my estate in case of my death or bankruptcy. Please make this letter a part of the memory exercise of every clerk and bookkeeper coming into your employ."

***

The question of the revision of the tariff is one in which every citizen of the United States is concerned, and two articles which are to be published in an early issue of The Outlook are certain to attract wide attention. "Revision by its Friends" is the topic of one of the articles, and the author is the Hon. William D. Washburn, of Minnesota. Ex-Senator Washburn has had a wide commercial and political experience as a lawyer, as a director in the Pillsbury-Washburn and Washburn-Crosby flour-mills at Minneapolis, as the projector and builder of three important railways, and as a member of the Minnesota Legislature, of the United States House of Representatives, and of the United States Senate. He speaks for the sentiment throughout the country in favor of prompt revision of the tariff. "Let Well Enough Alone," by General W. F. Draper, of Massachusetts, is the title of the second article. General Draper is also a great manufacturer, but arrives at an opposite conclusion from that of Senator Washburn and voices the sentiment of the protectionist part of the country. General Draper served through the Civil War, becoming Brevet Brigadier-General of Volunteers. He has been President of the Home Market Club of Boston, a Member of Congress, and Ambassador to Italy.

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